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ABSTRACT

This kit provides materials about South Africa for activists and educators and the Canadian public. The materials provide ideas for communicating the information and moving people to action. They include a user's guide with a kit overview and suggestions for its use; an educator's handbook on South Africa, which applies a popular education approach to South African solidarity education with ideas for planning and implementing programs, workshop examples, and popular education resources; and suggestions for taking action against apartheid in Canada. "Tools," designed for use in workshops, educational settings, or as handouts, include pamphlets exploding current myths about South Africa; conversations between South African and Canadian high school students, women, trade unionists, and church people; a summary of what South Africans are fighting against and for, including the Freedom Charter adopted at the 1955 Congress of the People; and a short piece outlining cultural expressions of resistance in South Africa, with a list of South African cultural resources available in Canada. "Background Information" materials include sectoral background papers on youth, women, trade unions, and the church; a look at Canadian government and corporate involvement in South Africa; and an overview of the South African resistance movement. A directory of Canadian groups and organizations involved in South Africa support work, an annotated listing of major print and audiovisual resources available on South Africa, and a glossary are provided. (YLB)

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South Africa

ON THE MOVE

A Tool Kit for Education and Action

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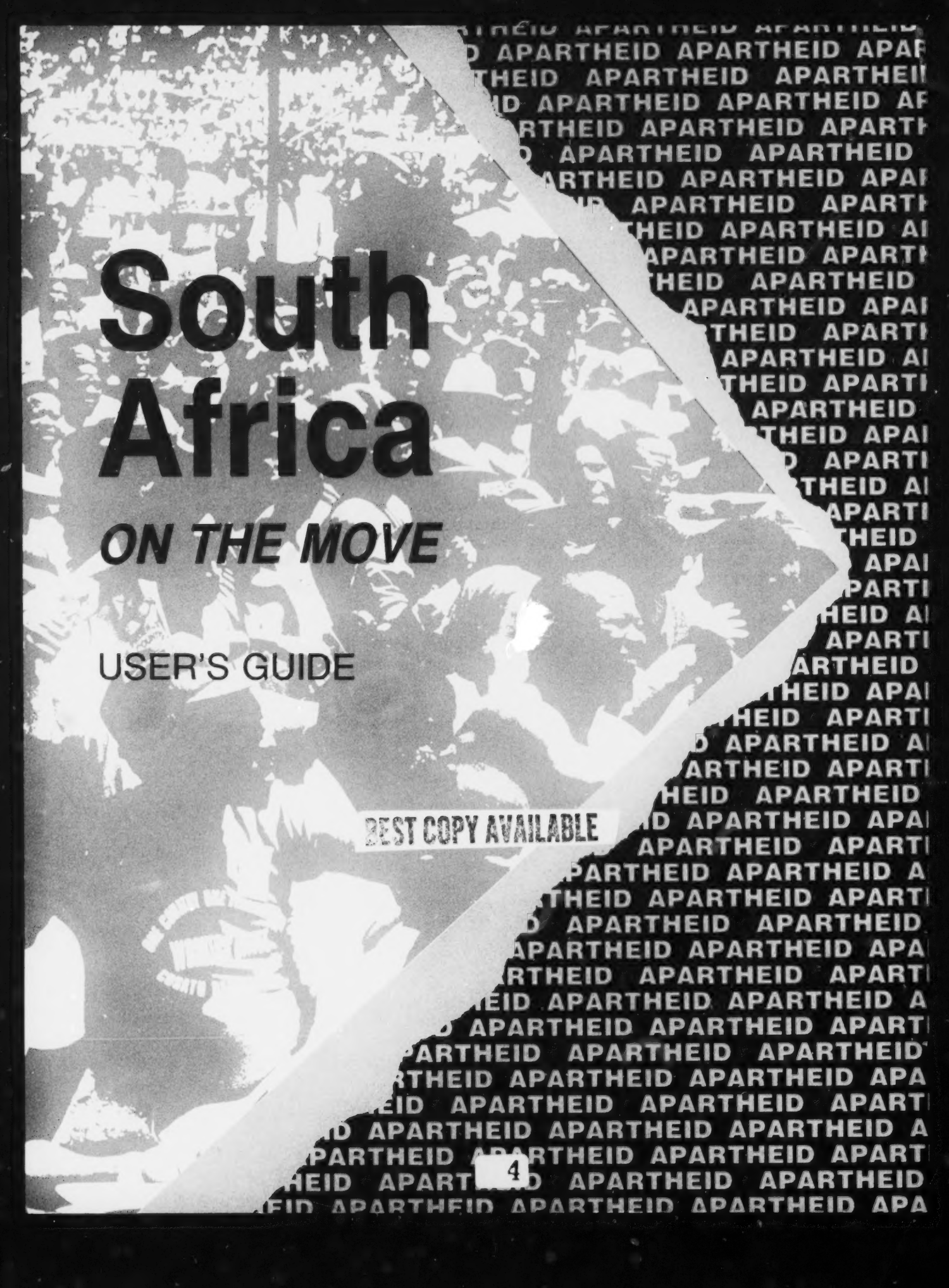
METHODS AND IDEAS (green section)

- ☐ User's Guide
- ☐ An Educator's Handbook on South Africa
- ☐ What Can We Do

TOOLS (red section)

- ☐ Myth Exploders (1-6)
- ☐ Dialogue Series
  (Youth, Women, Trade Unions, the Church)
- ☐ Apartheid and the Freedom Charter
- ☐ Culture as Resistance

ISBN 0-9692635-0-3


South
Africa
ON THE MOVE
USER'S GUIDE
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CREDITS

INITIATION AND DIRECTION
CIDMAA (Centre d'information et de documentation sur le Mozambique et l'Afrique Australe), CUSO, IDAFSA (The International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa), OXFAM, TCLSAC (Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa). Copies of this kit can be ordered from CUSO, 135 Rideau St., Ottawa, Ont. K1N 9K7, CIDMAA, 3738 rue St. Dominique, Montreal, Que. H2X 2X9 and TCLSAC, 427 Bloor St. W., Toronto, Ont. M5S 1X7.

COORDINATION
Rick Arnold and Bev Burke

WRITING
- Rick Arnold and Bev Burke: **Myth Exploder Series, Dialogue Series** (with assistance from Alyson Huntley in the Church Dialogue), **Culture as Resistance, Apartheid and the Freedom Charter** (with assistance in the research by TCLSAC), **What Can We Do, Educator's Handbook, Users' Guide, Glossary.**
- CIDMAA: **Sectoral Background Papers** (Youth, Women, Church, Trade Unions), **The Canadian Connection, Resistance, Directory** of Groups and Organizations.
- TCLSAC: **Resource List**

GRAPHICS:
Carlos Freire: **Myth Exploder Series, Dialogue Series,** drawings in the **Educator's Handbook**

PHOTOS:
Photo credits are noted. Special thanks to Afrapix, IDAFSA, and to Margie Bruun-Meyer.

LAYOUT AND DESIGN
The design emerged through the entire process of workshops and writing. Final design and layout by OUR TIMES in consultation with Margie Bruun-Meyer.

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

PART ONE:
AN OVERVIEW OF THE KIT

- Who the kit is for
- Why it was put together
- What's in the kit and how it's organized
- What's *not* in the kit

PART TWO:
SUGGESTIONS FOR USING THE MATERIAL

- Background Information
- Methods and Ideas
- Tools:
  - Myth Exploders
  - Dialogues
    (Youth, Women, Trade Unions, Church)
  - Apartheid and the Freedom Charter
  - Culture as Resistance

INTRODUCTION

Events are moving quickly in South Africa. Public attention in countries such as Canada has been focused on the undeclared war being waged by the white minority regime in Pretoria against the country's black majority. The brutality of apartheid has been brought into our living rooms; its ruthless enforcement has shocked the nation. Governments, including Canada's, have been forced to consider tougher diplomatic and economic measures as public outrage grows. Press restrictions imposed by the South African government in June of 1986 will likely continue in one form or another for the foreseeable future. As a result, the unprecedented level of media coverage of events in South Africa during the first half of 1986 may be curtailed, but the heroic struggle for liberation of its black population will continue to escalate. How will Canadians actively supporting this struggle respond to the rapidly changing context?

This kit is *one* response. Its initiation and direction has come from a group comprised of CUSO, OXFAM, IDAFSA, CIDMAA and TCLSAC. This committee asked Bev Burke and Rick Arnold to coordinate the kit — applying the 'popular education' approach to solidarity education they had used in their Central America work. Responsibility for writing the materials was divided among CIDMAA, TCLSAC, Rick and Bev.

However, the process for putting the kit together involved many people in its various stages:

- Work by the Committee in generating the main objectives for the kit, what it would contain, and collectively generating the content of some pieces, such as the Myth Exploders.
- Draft material prepared and distributed to the Southern Africa network across Canada.
- Testing and critique of the draft material by the network.
- A **Users' Consultation**. A weekend workshop involving representatives of groups across the country was held. Participants who had used the material reworked each piece in some depth. This consultation was a crucial element in the development of the final product.
- Rewriting and final production.

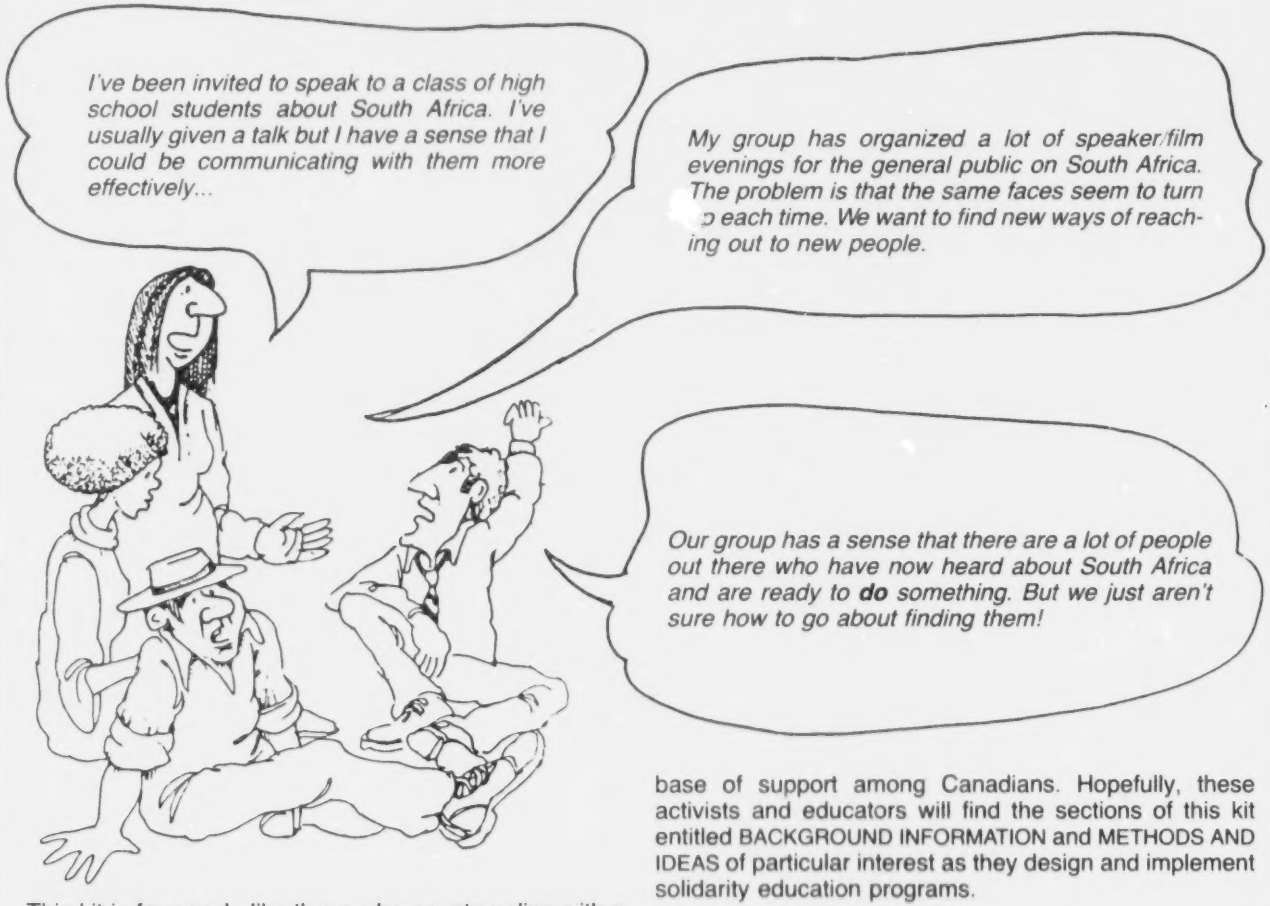
There are so many people who have taken the time to read and comment on the draft version of the kit that we can't mention all of you by name. But we **are** deeply grateful for your help. A very special thanks to the participants at the consultation: Margie Bruun-Meyer, Stuart Cryer, Carlos Freire, Anne Gillies, Trevor Herriot, Alyson Huntley, Julien Kinsale, Les Lax, Dan O'Meara, Barbara Pillay, Yonah Seleti. And to Joan Anne Nolan at CUSO for her administrative and moral support.

PART ONE: AN OVERVIEW OF THE KIT

The purpose of this guide, as the name suggests, is to help you use the material in the kit. In part one we will begin by outlining why the kit was put together, who it's for, what's in it and how it's organized. Part two goes on to make suggestions for using the material.

WHO IS IT FOR?

A group of people involved in South African issues in Canada gets together to share experiences:


I've been invited to speak to a class of high school students about South Africa. I've usually given a talk but I have a sense that I could be communicating with them more effectively...
My group has organized a lot of speaker/film evenings for the general public on South Africa. The problem is that the same faces seem to turn up each time. We want to find new ways of reaching out to new people.
Our group has a sense that there are a lot of people out there who have now heard about South Africa and are ready to **do** something. But we just aren't sure how to go about finding them!

This kit is for people like these who are struggling with a range of problems in trying to involve Canadians in education programs leading to action on South Africa.

The materials in this section were produced with two audiences in mind:

Activists and Educators

The materials in this kit have been designed for use by active members of solidarity committees, churches, trade unions, community groups and other organizations opposing apartheid. People from this network who carry out education and action programs on South Africa provide the energy and leadership necessary for building a broader base of support among Canadians. Hopefully, these activists and educators will find the sections of this kit entitled BACKGROUND INFORMATION and METHODS AND IDEAS of particular interest as they design and implement solidarity education programs.

The 'public' which the South Africa support network is trying to reach.

There are also many pieces of the kit aimed at people who do not know very much more about the issues than they have managed to pick up from the media. Some of these materials have been written for specific sectors (women, trade unionists, youth and churchpeople). These groups were chosen both because they are major actors in the South African resistance, and because they represent the constituencies with whom the Canadian support network is presently working. They are also sectors which are organized in some way, offering the possibility of follow-up education and action programs.

WHY WAS THE KIT PUT TOGETHER?

In April of 1985, CUSO sponsored a development workshop on liberation support in Lusaka, Zambia. Delegates included both representatives of the solidarity movement in Canada and of Southern Africa liberation movements. Those discussions identified a number of directions which solidarity work in Canada might take, and led to a follow-up workshop in September, involving a range of Canadian groups and organizations. This kit was part of the mandate given by that network. As mentioned earlier, an ongoing committee composed of CIDMAA, TCLSAC, CUSO, OXFAM and IDAFSA took responsibility for implementing the mandate and continues to meet regularly. This kit reponds to some of the needs expressed in those meetings.

OBJECTIVES OF THE KIT:

- Provide materials and ideas for long term education, for working more strategically with a variety of constituencies.
- Produce **popular** materials, grounded in the Canadian context, which take into account the relationship between content and form.
- Create materials to help people make the transition from an anti-apartheid position to an understanding of and support for the liberation movements.
- Provide an analysis of the current situation and help project future developments in South Africa.
- Produce tools to help Canadians critique their own racist views and societal structures as they develop a critique of South African apartheid.

WHAT'S IN THE KIT

There is a TABLE OF CONTENTS in the kit which lists the various pieces. Here, we want to give you some sense of what's in each piece and how the component parts fit together.

There are three kinds of material in the kit: BACKGROUND INFORMATION, METHODS AND IDEAS, and TOOLS(for using with your constituency). All of the pieces in each group are colour coded — so you can keep them together.

METHODS AND IDEAS

As the title suggests, these materials provide ideas for how to communicate the information and move people to action. They include:

The Users' Guide — includes an overview of the kit and suggestions for its use.

An Educator's Handbook on South Africa — A handbook for applying a popular education approach to South African solidarity education, with ideas for planning and implementing the programs.

What can we do — outlines suggestions for taking action against apartheid here in Canada.

TOOLS

These pieces of the kit have been designed for use in workshops, educational settings or as handouts, and are therefore written for the constituencies with whom you work. They include:

The Myth Exploder Series (1-6) Explodes current myths being perpetrated by the South African government and reflected in the media.

The Dialogues (1-4) Illustrated conversations between South African and Canadian women, trade unionists, high school students, and church people.

Apartheid and the Freedom Charter A visual and written summary of what South Africans are fighting against and what they are fighting for.

Culture as Resistance A short piece to underline the rich cultural expressions of resistance in South Africa, with a brief list of South African cultural resources available in Canada.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

These pieces are designed for use in preparing your programs. They provide more detailed information and analysis than you will find in the 'Tools'. They include:

The South Africa background papers: A series of sectoral backgrounders on WOMEN, TRADE UNIONS, YOUTH and the CHURCH. They give an overview of the history and present forms of struggle of each sector and its role in the resistance. THE SOUTH AFRICAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENT provides an overview of its history, present formation and potential. THE CANADIAN CONNECTION looks at Canadian government and corporate involvement in South Africa.

Glossary — An explanation of terms and abbreviations used in this kit.

Directory — An extensive list of groups and organizations involved in South Africa support work.

Resource list - An annotated listing of major resources available on South Africa, by sector and issue.

WHAT'S NOT IN THE KIT

We are aware that this kit is not complete. Its omissions include the lack of material on Namibia and on the SADCC countries. Due to financial and time constraints, we have had to limit ourselves to materials on South Africa. Also missing is an automatic updater! We hope you will use the many excellent publications indicated in the RESOURCE LIST to keep on top of events in South Africa and elsewhere in the region.

PART TWO: SUGGESTIONS FOR USING THE MATERIAL

Below you will find a brief description of the yellow and green sections of the kit — suggesting some concrete ways you might use them with participants in an educational setting — to be followed by a more detailed look at the red section.

THE BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The yellow section includes background papers, a glossary of terms, a directory of groups and a resource list.

The Background Papers, (the sectoral pieces on WOMEN, TRADE UNIONS, YOUTH and the CHURCH, the CANADIAN CONNECTIONS and the RESISTANCE MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA) are all designed as reference material for the facilitator activist rather than for use by participants in an educational. They provide information and analysis which can be important in preparing for a session or event. They are current as of June, 1986 but will need updating given the pace of events in South Africa. Consult the RESOURCE LIST for ongoing publications and newsletters.

The Resources, (RESOURCE LIST, DIRECTORY OF GROUPS, and the GLOSSARY) have also been included for your reference. The RESOURCE LIST is annotated and can be used to identify major resources available up until June, 1986. It is not intended to be comprehensive. THE DIRECTORY is fairly extensive, including organizations whose major work is not Southern Africa support, but who have been involved in some way or other in programming on South Africa. THE GLOSSARY covers some of the terms used most frequently in this kit. If it is to be used in a workshop or as a handout it may need to be added to, depending on the theme. Note that the background papers explain acronyms relevant to each sector.

METHODS AND IDEAS

There are three main components to the green section of the kit:

An Educator's Handbook on South Africa This booklet is designed as a handbook on how to apply a popular education approach to solidarity education on South Africa, and contains many 'how to' ideas — from planning the program to making the connections back to Canada. Its scope goes beyond the use of the materials in this kit. It can also be used for ideas, tips and concrete suggestions for planning and implementing programs and events of an educational nature on South Africa. It does not offer many suggestions for very short sessions.

The Users' Guide is linked closely to this kit. It is meant to give you a sense of what the kit is about, while also providing concrete suggestions for using the Tools to be found there. It is not intended to have a life of its own.

What Can We Do is included to emphasize the need for an action component in any educational session. It can be used as a background for the facilitator, offering a range of action suggestions. It also outlines South African demands and some considerations to keep in mind in the Canadian context. This piece might be used as a handout during a public event. The letter writing guide in Appendix A can be useful in a session where participants will be asked to write to government about Canadian foreign policy on South Africa. It does **not** relate to specific constituencies, nor does it include information on local actions and ongoing campaigns. It should, therefore, be complemented with prior research by the educator on those areas.

TOOLS

For the remainder of this USERS' GUIDE we will be looking at the red section — 'tools' for using with your constituencies in workshops. These include the MYTH EXPLODERS, the DIALOGUE SERIES (on Youth, Women, Trade Unions and the Church), APARTHEID AND THE FREEDOM CHARTER and CULTURE AS RESISTANCE.

For each piece of material we will look at:

- What it **can** do
- What it **can't** do
- Suggestions for its use.

The suggestions for use are not fully developed, and are only meant to generate ideas. You might wish to consult the EDUCATOR'S HANDBOOK for tips on planning your program. Each of the tools are given separate pages so that you can remove them if you wish and keep them attached to the relevant material.

USERS' GUIDE:
THE MYTH EXPLODER SERIES

WHAT THEY CAN DO

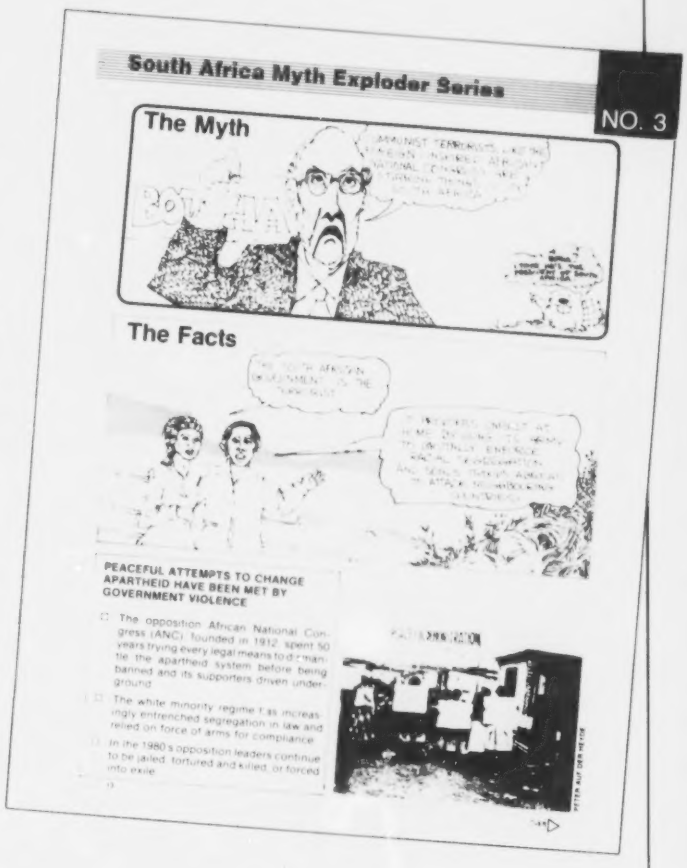
The myth exploder series is designed to motivate discussion and challenge participant preconceptions of events in South Africa. They are short presentations providing both written and visual arguments to counter major myths promoted by the South African regime and often reproduced by the media. They can be used with most constituencies.

WHAT THEY CAN'T DO

They are not designed to provide in-depth information and analysis on the issues. Neither do they explore where these myths came from nor the whole question of control and ownership of the media.

SUGGESTIONS FOR USE

- As handouts. However, since they don't suggest action, include information on local actions or the action suggestions from the WHAT CAN WE DO piece.
- Workshop Number 1 in THE EDUCATOR'S HANDBOOK uses the myth exploders within a workshop setting to develop critical viewing of media coverage of South Africa.
- Ask participants what they know about South Africa, what images come to mind or what words they associate with South Africa — to generate some of the myths. Then divide them into small groups according to the myths identified and give each group the relevant myth exploder. They read and come up with some arguments to challenge the myth.
- Have short, recent newspaper articles available about South Africa which each have one or two myths built in. Give small groups one article and the myth exploders. Ask the group to identify any of these (or other) myths in the article. Write a letter to the editor countering the myths identified.
- Begin with a quick brainstorm. ...'What images come to mind when you hear the word ------- '. (Use key words related to the myths.) Discuss where we get our images and impressions — the sources of our information. (Note that we are not always conscious of the way in which our understanding is 'framed' by the media.) The group could then work with the myth exploders or they could be given a handout to take home.
- With students or others, do a short exercise to distinguish an opinion from a belief, from a fact. Use newsclippings to help make the distinctions. Review the myth exploders in the same way, comparing to the newsclips. (A good resource to use is **Between the Lines** by Eleanor Maclean.)


South Africa Myth Exploder Series
NO. 3
The Myth
The Facts
PEACEFUL ATTEMPTS TO CHANGE APARTHEID HAVE BEEN MET BY GOVERNMENT VIOLENCE

USERS' GUIDE:
THE DIALOGUE SERIES

The Dialogues involve four constituencies (women, trade unionists, youth and church people). Most of the suggestions for use can be adapted for any of the four. We will note where an idea is specific to just one group.

WHAT THEY CAN DO

The Dialogues are useful for generating discussion of similarities and differences in the situation facing women, trade unionists, church people or high school students in Canada and South Africa. It is an engaging way of getting people to speak 'directly', through the dialogues to their counterparts in South Africa. All of the dialogues provide an introduction to some of the basic issues facing South Africans, but they are also designed to hold the interest of a more experienced audience. For example, the Church Dialogue deals with the question of violence, but from the perspective of church people who already have some sense of social justice issues. In the Women's Dialogue the two women have a feminist perspective.

WHAT THEY CAN'T DO

For an analysis of the situation facing each sector, use the background sectoral papers. These papers should, in any case, be read by you before using the dialogues in a session to give you more background information to go on. Each dialogue is a general piece and doesn't speak to the day-to-day situation faced by any one group in Canada. They should not be used as a substitute for South Africans speaking directly to us — but as a tool for helping to look at the connections to our reality here in Canada.

SUGGESTIONS FOR USE

- Have participants read the dialogue and discuss what they can do to support their counterparts in South Africa. Note that the reading can be done in several ways:
  - — as a dramatic reading on the spot by three volunteers from the group.
  - — three people are asked to prepare for the reading in advance.
  - — read in groups of three, each person taking one part.
  - — read to yourself.
  - — Choose an alternative based on your understanding of the group. For example, in the testing of the materials it was noted that high school students sometimes resist reading in front of the whole class, while women and church people had no problem with spontaneous reading in the full group.
- Read the dialogue. Then, using your own words, put together a brief skit or role play showing two similarities and two differences in the situation you face and the one faced by your counterparts in South Africa.
- Read the dialogue and then discuss it. Here are some questions you might use:
  - — What did the two Canadian (trade unionists) learn about the situation facing workers in South Africa?
  - — If you had been there, what other questions would you have asked?
  - — What did the South African (trade unionist) find out about the situation facing Canadian workers?
  - — What else would you have wanted him to know?
  - — What are the similarities and differences in what we're up against as (women) in South Africa and Canada?
- Brainstorm questions you would want to ask a South African person from this sector as a way to begin a session.
- Have participants read the dialogue aloud in small groups of three. Then **staying in their roles** — continue the discussion until the facilitator says to stop (about 5-10 minutes). Each group of three is asked to record:
  - — how each person felt about the conversation (from his/her perspective in the role)
  - — what each person learned/discovered from the conversation.

Share in full group.

- With the Youth and Church dialogues there are ideas listed for writing your own dialogues. These could be adapted to the other sectors as well. Small groups of 2-3 people could be asked to write Chapter two of the dialogue, to help clarify how best to support women, youth etc. in South Africa.
- Begin with a warm-up. Ask people to imagine themselves in South Africa, to write down the things that come to mind, what you think it would be like. Or you might extract direct quotes or stories (for example from the book *South African Women on the Move*) and have different people read them.
- For more developed workshop ideas for using the dialogues, see the EDUCATOR'S HANDBOOK in this kit — particularly:
  - — Workshop #2 in Section 4
  - — program ideas on Racism in Section 3.
- The dialogue might be introduced into kits for conferences or educationals in unions. Material can be sent to the education coordinators of the various unions with a letter asking that it be included and its availablity mentioned to participants.
- Use as a handout for local labour union, labour council, church and other meetings where South Africa is on the agenda.

USERS' GUIDE
APARTHEID/FREEDOM CHARTER

WHAT IT CAN DO

This piece can be used to look at both the current struggle against apartheid and post-liberation South Africa. It looks at the future — at what South Africans are struggling **for**. It provides a short, introductory summary of what apartheid means to people in South Africa and can be easily divided into a number of pieces on education, health, human rights etc. It also raises the question of resistance and armed struggle in the context of what people are fighting for.

WHAT IT CAN'T DO

This piece is not for in-depth information and analysis. The SOUTH AFRICAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENT backgrounder in the kit offers important preparation for the facilitator using this material. It is not for use by groups who already have a lot of information on apartheid — in that case, you may want to only use the third column on the FREEDOM CHARTER.

SUGGESTIONS FOR USE

- As a handout. You might want to include only those pieces relevant to your audience (land, regional relations etc.)
- Pieces can be used separately as discussion starters on issues — to look at education with teachers or health with health promoters for example. You would need to follow up with more detailed information.
- Use a copy of the CANADIAN CHARTER OF RIGHTS and compare to the FREEDOM CHARTER.
- Through an audio-visual or resource panel introduce some other societies which have recently experienced revolutionary change (Nicaragua, Mozambique). Look at some of the problems they face and how those problems are being confronted. Use the FREEDOM CHARTER or the 'What we are fighting for' section to look at the kinds of problems South Africans will face, following liberation.
- Brainstorm the two questions: 'What are we fighting for' and 'What are we fighting against' in the Canadian context. Then, have small groups discuss the same questions for South Africa, using parts of the APARTHEID/FREEDOM CHARTER piece. Compare.
- For church groups, suggest they use sections to create a dramatic reflection/reading combined with biblical quotes or quotes from church folks in South Africa or Canada.
- High school students might be asked to pull together a statement of principles for the kind of society they want to live in (their own 'manifesto'). Compare to the FREEDOM CHARTER.
- Have people read some parts of the piece and provide discussion questions. Some areas you may want to consider:
  - — distinguish 'vision' from strategic political program.
  - — the significance of the FREEDOM CHARTER as a unifying statement.
  - — comparison to the Canadian situation — generally, or in specific areas such as education.
  - — relate white colonialism in South Africa to the history of Canadian treatment of native people.
- Divide the group in two, with each group asked to read the same section, say Land.
  Group A: — what are we fighting for
  Group B: — what are we fighting against
  Each group is then asked to develop a sculpture, (see **Popular Education Handbook** — listed in Section 5 of THE EDUCATOR'S HANDBOOK,) a mime or a short skit to dramatize the content. Compare.
- Groups could be given specific issues to look at: Land, Education etc. and asked to read the piece and then dramatize the content in two scenes — the present and the future.
- Using the video described below and the 'What are we fighting for' pieces, have groups identify issues they think the new South Africa will need to address.

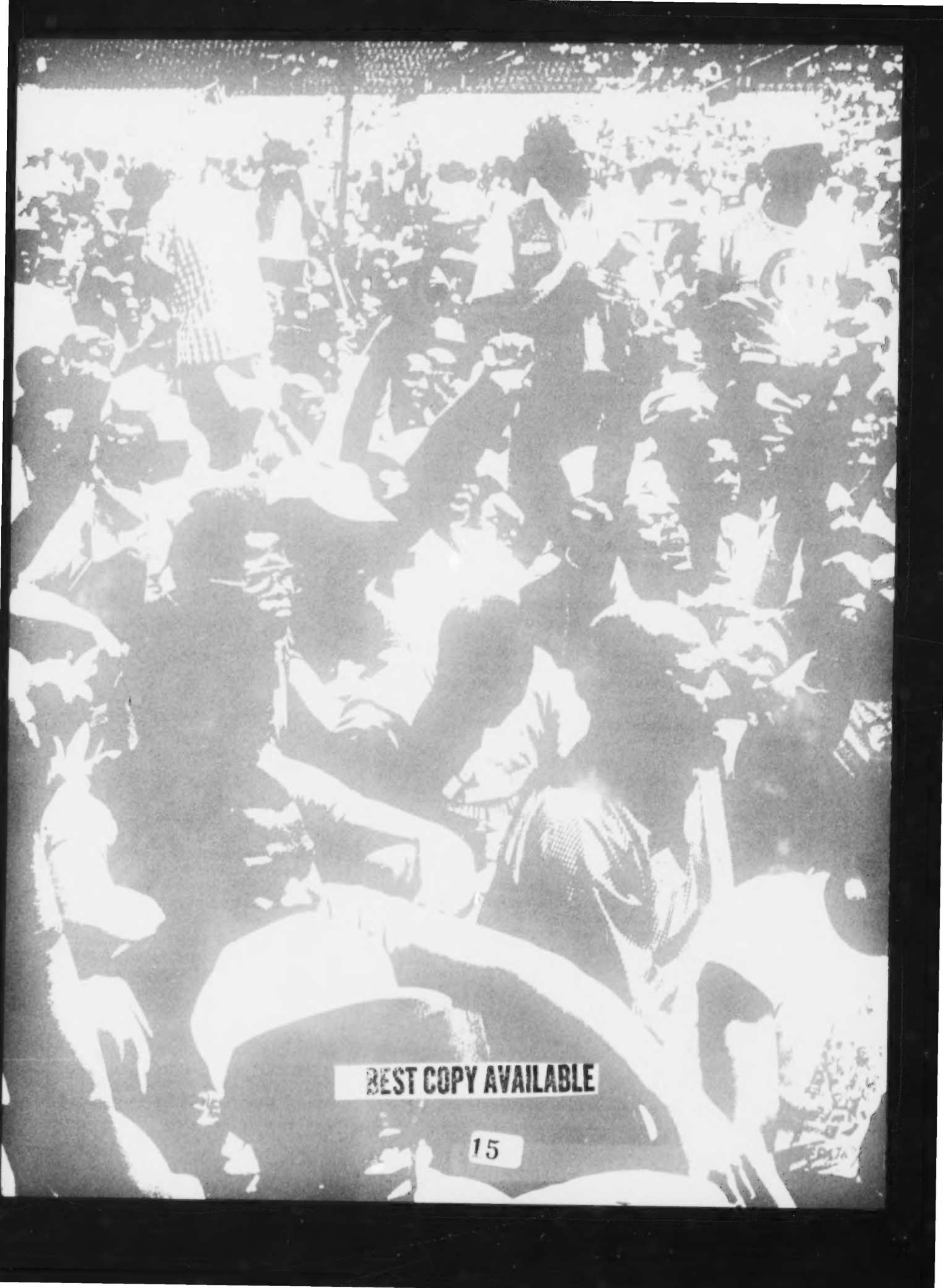
VIDEO - **THE FREEDOM CHARTER: A MEDIA ANALYSIS** (Colour, 13 minutes) Produced by Terra Vision, Sudbury

More than 16 hours of television and radio reports relating to South Africa were analyzed between September, 1985 and March, 1986.

A vivid statement by the people of South Africa emerges as an essence of these media reports.

From a background of violent repression, these people enunciate the Freedom Charter, a document for a democratic South Africa.

Available from CUSO and OXFAM.



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USERS' GUIDE
CULTURE AS RESISTANCE

WHAT IT CAN DO

This piece introduces the role of culture in the resistance movement. It is useful as another bridge for involving people who would not normally be interested in political questions. It is likely to be of specific interest to cultural workers and students of art, drama, music etc. The cultural material allows for greater involvement at an emotive or feeling level. This piece also suggests some cultural resources from South Africa available in Canada, and underlines the fact that there are many cultural workers here who are also fighting apartheid.

WHAT IT CAN'T DO

It is by no means comprehensive. It gives a taste of a very few artists and the resource list does not contain many of the rich cultural resources available in South Africa today.

SUGGESTIONS FOR USE

- This piece can be used as a handout, although it should be combined with some reference to what people can do about the situation.
- Use poems, visuals, songs as resources. For example, the poem on Ruth First, or the Crossroads lino cut can be used to promote discussion of what is going on in South Africa. Ask people what they learn from the poem/lino and then provide them with a description of the incident that promoted the creation. Note that many of the other cultural resources listed can be used in a similar way.
- A tape of South African music can be playing before or after your events.
- Use Dionne Brand's poem as an example of one person's response to what's going on in South Africa and the relationship of these events to us. Then ask participants to create their own poem or express their feelings about what is going on in South Africa and Canadian involvement in it. (Different groups could use different forms such as song, poster, etc.).
- Use cultural activities to build the anti-apartheid movement in Canada. Plan cultural events. (**Artists Against Apartheid** in Toronto drew on both Canadian and South African artists and was a tremendous success). Put on a play. (The resource section suggests a script available which especially looks at the role of youth in the struggle).

CULTURE
AS RESISTANCE

South African artists in exile and the many who remain in the country are constructing a culture of resistance built on a history of creative expression and a collective spirit to overcome

The development of black culture in South Africa has been marked by drastic restrictions on the flow of information and ideas coupled with the brutal enforcement of apartheid laws. Pretoria has banned over 20,000 publications in the last two decades. The regime maintains an extensive list of writers whose works cannot be published in South Africa. Black artists, deprived of freedom of movement under Apartheid and lacking funding, find it hard to rehearse for a play or concert, or even create new works. Whites dominate the South African entertainment industry so that particularly gifted black artists who wish to express themselves fully and freely often find that exile is the only available option.

The apartheid government has its own ideas of what black culture amounts to. It organizes and promotes shows for tourists featuring primitive tribal dances and happy blacks in traditional costumes. But behind this façade of tribalism and despite the restrictions, the black population is developing a rich cultural life which is increasingly linked to resistance against apartheid. Poetry, plays, music, dance and visual art forms investigate day to day problems and their causes and communicate deeper levels of community feeling.

Recently, in many black townships, a form of people's culture has evolved which includes street theatre, cultural weekends and even an independent recording company. People who have something to say, act, dance or sing about have become amazingly resourceful in finding cultural platforms from which to voice their artistic talents. A vibrant workers culture has developed in the independent trade unions. Workers' choirs write songs which tell of their struggles, while plays document and relive the drama of their strikes.

The History Workshop, held every two years at the University of Witwatersrand, brings together a creative mix of educational and cultural events. This major workshop features films, videos, slide tape shows, photo displays, the recounting of personal experience and plays. An alternative publishing tradition has blossomed over the past 10 years. Publishing houses such as Ravan Press and Skotaville Press print works

One of more than 600 artists who attended the Culture and Resistance Festival in Botswana in 1982

by South African writers, poets, artists and academics who reflect the social, political and economic reality of their country.

Outside South Africa, AMANDLA, the cultural wing of the ANC, tours the world communicating the various dimensions of their struggle against apartheid. Amandla is made up of musicians, singers, dancers, poets and visual artists who see themselves as freedom fighters, no less important in the struggle for liberation than the ANC's armed wing. Umkhonto we Sizwe. South African artists in exile and the many who remain in the country are constructing a culture of resistance built on a history of creative expression and a collective spirit to overcome.

- As part of a workshop/session with cultural workers or drama, art or music students, look at the role of culture in society — (culture for whom, for what purpose) — using the South African example as the starting point. Then ask the same questions for cultural activity in Canada.
- Put together a resource — a tape of South African music, a booklet of poems, a photo exhibit which could be used in the community for education and fundraising.

This is from a kit called **South Africa on the Move**, available from CUSO, ECSA desk, 135 Rideau St., Ottawa, Ont. K1N 9K7.

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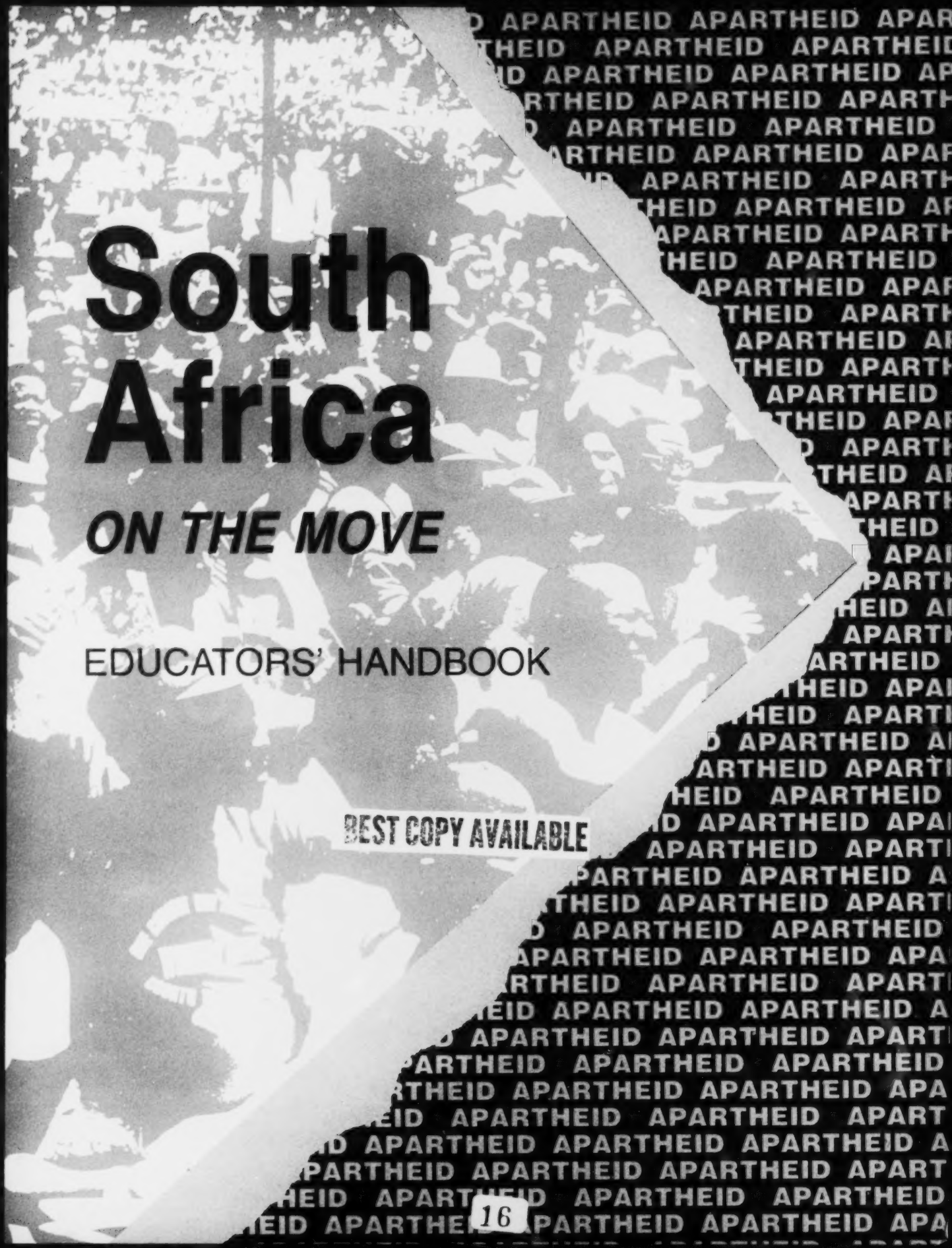
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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 2

SECTION ONE: SOLIDARITY EDUCATION 3

Present Practice
- the content
- the methods

Popular Education: An Alternative Approach
- what is popular education?
- implications for South African solidarity education
- meeting resistance and what to do with it

SECTION TWO: PLANNING YOUR PROGRAM 6

- why spend time planning?
- stages in planning

SECTION THREE: IMPLEMENTING THE PROGRAM: SOME 'HOW TO' IDEAS 8

Finding out where participants are at
- in advance
- at the event

Structuring the content to make it more participatory
- some techniques
- making audio-visuals more participatory
- using speakers

Relating back to Canada
- by making sectoral connections
- by looking at Canadian government policy and corporate involvement in South Africa
- by examining Canadian media coverage of South Africa
- by examining our own racist structures here in Canada

Developing an action plan
- before the event
- at the event
- steps in making an action plan

SECTION FOUR: WORKSHOP EXAMPLES 12

- Media Coverage of South Africa
- Links between trade unionists (or women, students, etc.) in Canada and South Africa
- Canadian South African relations

SECTION FIVE: POPULAR EDUCATION RESOURCES 19

- people
- methods
- program ideas
- participatory techniques
- creating your own resources

APPENDIX ONE

- A workshop planning tool

INTRODUCTION

This booklet is for South African solidarity activists and educators who want to include a longer term education strategy in their work. The approach to solidarity we take stresses the community of interests which exists among people struggling for social justice, whether in Canada or in South Africa. The task of solidarity education then becomes to identify the forces of domination operating in both contexts and strategies for resistance and liberation which we can support and from which we can learn. This is a long term process which helps build a social change movement in Canada while it offers solidarity to the people of South Africa in their struggle.

Section one begins with a reflection on how South African solidarity education is presently being done. We then move on to suggest an alternative — a 'popular education' approach, and the implications of adopting such an approach for South African solidarity education. These implications are explored in more depth — both in section two where we share some tips for planning, and in section three which outlines some concrete tools for implementing the programs. Section four contains three longer, more fully developed workshop examples, combining a variety of techniques and materials from this kit. Finally, section five refers you to some additional education resources, while also encouraging you to create your own.

This booklet is not for those who are seeking solutions to the short, one-shot sessions. The USERS' GUIDE in this kit can help address that need. This booklet **does** raise issues and offer ideas for the development of a longer term strategy for solidarity education. It is dedicated to the many people who are in the struggle to liberate South Africa from apartheid.

Rick Arnold and Bev Burke
Roseneath, Ontario
August, 1986

SECTION ONE: SOLIDARITY EDUCATION

PRESENT PRACTICE

How are we educating Canadians about South Africa now?

The Context

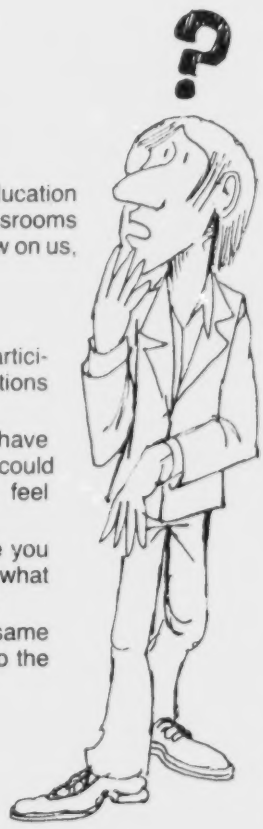
Those of us involved in education about Southern Africa, Central America, peace issues, women's issues and many others are putting forward a different vision of how society should be structured. The content of our education programs is critical of the way things are: — we ask questions such as 'who benefits and who loses'. But it is also creative — we offer alternatives, and challenge people to learn new ways of thinking and acting. We hope to empower people to change unjust structures and build something better.

But are the methods we use in our education programs consistent with our underlying philosophy and objectives?

The Methods

Let's take a look for a moment at our approach to education — our methodology. We may no longer be in classrooms with teachers and books to impose a dominant view on us, but what have we replaced that model with?

- How many educational events have you participated in that took your experience and perceptions into account in the planning?
- How many of your educational experiences have helped you to develop analytical tools that you could use in an ongoing way? That made you feel 'empowered'?
- How many presentations or workshops have you left with a clear sense of how you can apply what you've learned? With a specific action plan?
- At how many as a result, have you seen the same old faces and felt that you were 'preaching to the converted'?



We have all been involved both as participants and organizers in events such as these. Yet we have few alternative models to draw upon, and so we sometimes unconsciously use the more familiar, authoritarian approach that we learned in school. And let's face it, it certainly is less threatening to deliver a 'talk' than it is to get people involved, beginning with where they are at. On the other hand, sometimes, recognizing that there is a problem, we grab on to a new idea or technique without being clear where we're going with it.

Those of us engaged in solidarity education know that we need to look more critically at our work. The question is HOW do we do it?

POPULAR EDUCATION: AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH

In searching for an educational approach more consistent with the context of our work and its goals, we have found 'popular education' helpful in developing a methodology for solidarity education.

What is popular education?

Popular Education is part of a current in Adult Education which has often been described as 'education for critical consciousness'. The method was developed by a Brazilian educator, Paulo Freire, to teach literacy to peasants in Brazil.

Popular Education is called 'popular' because its priority is to work among the many rural and urban poor who form the vast majority of the world's people, particularly in Third World countries. It is a collective or group process of education, where the teacher and students learn together, beginning with the concrete experience of the participants, leading to a reflection on that experience in order to bring about fundamental social change. In Canada, popular education methods have been widely used by literacy and second language English teachers. Increasingly, educators in a range of community organizations are creatively adapting popular education to meet their own education and organizing needs.

Characteristics of Popular Education

- everyone teaches; everyone learns
- the starting point is the concrete experience of the learner
- involves a high level of participation
- is a collective effort
- is an on-going process, not limited to a workshop
- leads to action for change
- stresses the creation of new knowledge
- causes us to reflect on what we've done to improve what we are going to do
- strengthens the ability of people to organize themselves
- links local experiences to historical and global processes

So what difference would adopting such an approach make to education work on South Africa?

A popular education approach involves a new way of thinking about your education work. Let's look at what areas might change as a result: —

IMPLICATIONS FOR SOUTH AFRICAN SOLIDARITY EDUCATION

Here are some of the changes it has meant for us. . .

The starting point becomes the experience and knowledge of the participants.

- ☐ Take what people already know about South Africa into account; give participants a chance to share what they know. Such a process helps people understand where their information is coming from, leading to a more critical perspective in the future. It also helps **you** understand where people are at.
- ☐ Try to relate what's happening in South Africa to peoples' lives:
  - as workers, students or women, helping to identify the similarities without minimizing the differences.
  - by not dealing only with the racism of apartheid, but trying to bring some of that reflection home to our own racism here in Canada.
  - by attempting to look at the economic structure of South Africa and its relationship to Canada.

The methods are participatory

- ☐ The techniques or activities are chosen both to meet specific objectives, and maximize participation.
- ☐ Make learning a creative process, and fun for people. This is not to deny the use of a good 'lecture' from time to time. However, how you use a good speaker changes, adding more opportunities for participation.

Analyze who you work with and why

- ☐ Put less energy into one shot events and more into longer term educational strategies with organized groups or constituencies.
- ☐ Move towards working with sectors (women, trade unions etc.) rather than with 'the general public'. This will allow you to plan knowing more about who the target audience will be. And an 'in-place', ongoing group maximizes the possibilities for action.

The relationship with participants is based on mutual respect and shared responsibility

- ☐ The facilitator doesn't have to be the expert on everything. You can say you don't know and suggest ways to find out.
- ☐ Structure ways for participants to learn from each other.
- ☐ **You** can learn from the knowledge and experience of the participants.
- ☐ It's more demanding on the educator — and you **do** have to be very well prepared.
- ☐ Work as a team whenever possible and then you can back each other up and share critical reflection afterwards.

And you need to put a lot more effort into planning

☐ Section two will look at planning in more detail. . .

End up with action

☐ Every event includes some opportunity for people to define action based upon what they've learned.

☐ People also get a chance to reflect on the experience, on the fact that they have deepened their understanding of the situation.

Section three will return to many of these points in more detail and suggest **how** some of these goals might be accomplished.

How do participants react to popular education?

Well, here are some typical responses we've had. . .

I didn't know I knew so much about South Africa.

I realize for the first time that I can analyze!

So I don't need an expert to tell me what to think!

I didn't know that learning could be so much fun.

MEETING RESISTANCE AND WHAT TO DO WITH IT

For many people this approach represents a new way of learning. Like most of us, the participants in our events have been 'schooled' and will bring with them expectations of teacher-delivered information and answers. As 'students' they may feel that they don't know much and so have little to contribute. Another source of resistance may be from participants with sophisticated levels of information and analysis who feel threatened by the challenge to **their** traditional role as 'expert'. Here are some ideas for taking these factors into account when planning the program. . .

- Take into account the characteristics of your group when choosing techniques.
- Always gives people the option **not** to participate if it makes them uncomfortable. For example, if small groups will be developing skits and someone resists, suggest he/she work with the group to develop the ideas and identify 'props', rather than 'act' in the skit.
- How you introduce activities is very important. Participants should be clear as to **why** they are being asked to do something and what it involves. In using alternative techniques such as drawing, role play and drama for example, you will want to stress that there are no awards for artwork or acting!

You may also encounter resistance to the analysis developed in the workshcp. Sometimes antagonism comes from people in the group with racist attitudes, or those who label any discussion of social change as 'biased' or 'communist'. Here are some ideas for dealing with this kind of resistance. . .

- Prior consultation with the organizers of the event can often help identify potential problems.
- Work in two's and small groups. This does not allow one individual to dominate the entire discussion.
- Work with another facilitator, especially if you anticipate problems in the group.
- Role play problematic situations in advance, working out responses and how to deal with them. You'll feel more confident if you've had a chance to practice.
- Try to collectivize the responsibility for dealing with a problem person. Ask group members what they think of the intervention.
- Don't permit one person to dominate the discussion. You can politely suggest that other people be given a chance to have their say as well.
- Resistance is not necessarily negative. Don't be afraid of some conflict — it can be helpful in clarifying positions and aiding learning.

We've been talking about resistance. But it's important to remember that most people respond positively to increased opportunities to participate and to come to some new understandings. Let's move on to Section Two, where, as promised, we will look at some tips for planning an educational program.

SECTION TWO: PLANNING YOUR PROGRAM

WHY SPEND YOUR TIME PLANNING?

Most people involved in solidarity education are over-extended with many demands on their time. So why spend that valuable time planning?

- Your programs will be better and accomplish what you want them to.
- A well-designed plan will help you to feel more confident during the event.
- The plan makes it easier to work as a team with others.
- It helps you to evaluate the event afterwards.
- If you keep the plans, you can use them again, with changes based on what didn't work. And you can share them with others.
- Planning which involves participants helps them 'own' the event.
- A detailed plan helps avoid last minute logistical foul-ups!

STAGES IN PLANNING

We suggest here a number of steps to planning a program and some key questions to be answered at each stage.

STAGE ONE: SOME INITIAL DECISIONS

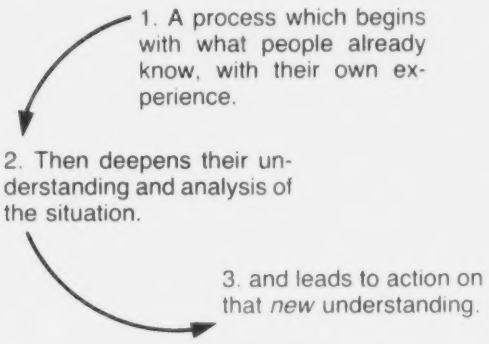
Try to involve the participants with you in the planning, through setting up a **planning committee from the group.** Then collectively work through the following questions:

- WHO are the **participants**? (How many? Do they know each other? How will they be chosen? Is this an organized group? Is it the first time they have looked at South Africa?)
- WHAT are the **overall objectives** of the event? What are the **specific objectives**? (Yours? the Planning Committee's? How will you know if the objectives have been met?)
- WHAT is the **theme**? (How does it relate to the participants' own concerns and work? What do they already know about it?)
- WHAT **follow-up** will there be? (This should be built-in to the program so that the design can help ensure a follow-up component.)
- And some **nuts and bolts**. How long is the program? Where will it be held? What resources are available? (rooms, flip chart, equipment etc.)

Once you have clarified the answers to these questions, you have the information you need to begin to design the program.

STAGE TWO: THINKING THROUGH THE LOGIC OR OVERALL FLOW OF THE EVENT

This may be done with the whole planning committee or you may work with the information and bring back a draft for discussion. There are three steps in the **logic** of a popular education process:


1. A process which begins with what people already know, with their own experience.
2. Then deepens their understanding and analysis of the situation.
3. and leads to action on that *new* understanding.

We suggest that you think through these **three steps** for every event:

1. That the program **take as its starting point the practice/experience/knowledge of the participants.** What do they know about South Africa?

2. Then it goes on to **deepen the analysis and understanding** of the participants. This involves more than simply adding new information. It challenges people to understand relationships — how things are connected; develops theories and concepts.

3. And finally, participants **develop action plans** based on their new understanding of the situation.

Here's what the overall flow of one event might look like. . .

- **Start with people's knowledge about South Africa.** The group is asked to identify (through words, pictures, or drama) what images they have picked up from the media about South Africa.
- **To deepen their understanding,** we would introduce the view of black South Africans who are fighting apartheid. Then ask the group to repeat the first exercise, depicting the black South African's view. In the discussion we would look at what is different, gaps and distortions, and why the difference. Who owns and controls the media? Where does the news media get its information?
- **To identify action** we might look at ways we can help make the voice of black South Africans heard by the Canadian public and the Canadian government. Define an action plan with the group.

STAGE THREE: DETAILING THE PLAN

With your overall 'logic' worked out, the task then becomes to outline the specifics of the event — what will you do first, second etc. You will need to choose and combine activities and resources to meet your objectives, within the time available.

How do you know which activity or technique to use?

Here is a checklist of the points we usually consider in choosing a technique. . .

A Checklist for Choosing Techniques

- Do **not** choose the activity first. Rather **set the objective** and then decide how best to meet it.
- **Be familiar with the possibilities and limitations of each technique** or resource you will use, and try to be familiar with a number of different ones. (Section three has some resources you might want to consult for ideas on participatory techniques. The 'Resource List' in the kit will help with audio-visual and other resources available.)
- Be ready to **adapt techniques to suit your group.** For example, the way you use drama, with a high school class, a trade union or church group varies greatly, given the different 'cultures' they represent. 'Discussion' can begin in twos, for groups where only a few people usually speak etc.
- **How many people** and **how much time** you have **will limit** which techniques or resources you can use.
- You should **feel comfortable** leading the activity — although without some controlled risk taking, you will never expand your 'tool kit'. **Work with someone** whenever you can, and especially when you are trying something new.
- Use techniques that others can also use — **demystify** them as you use them. Sometimes, the simplest thing you can think of is the best!
- **Be creative!** Sometimes it is necessary to 'remake' a technique into something new and useful for your particular situation. (Also see Section Five: Creating Your Own Resources).

A Planning Tool

For those of you interested in a further look at planning, we have included as Appendix 1 the planning tool we use in our own work. Called 'the Learning Loom', we have borrowed it from Central American popular educators, and have found it extremely helpful. You will find both a partially completed loom to give you some idea of what we put in each box — and an empty one for you to try out if you wish. For more detail, consult *A New Weave* (pp. 36-50), listed in Section 5.

Now, let's move on to look at some tools you might use in implementing your program.

SECTION THREE: IMPLEMENTING THE PROGRAM: SOME 'HOW TO' IDEAS

In section one we outlined some of the implications for adopting a popular education approach to our South African solidarity work. Section two explored one of those implications in depth — the need to spend more time planning. Now we will turn to the other implications which relate to the implementation of the program, and be suggesting some concrete tools you may wish to consider.

FINDING OUT WHERE PARTICIPANTS ARE AT

As mentioned in section one, it's important to start with what participants already know about the theme.

But how do you find out?

☐ **In advance**

- Find out as much as you can about the participants in advance
- Try to have a **planning committee** for a workshop, made up of the organizers of the event, who will also be among the participants. If it's a short session, at least review your plan with the person responsible in advance.

☐ **At the event**

- **to find out what participants want out of the session**
  - — As part of the introductions, ask people to say why they came.
  - — Review the objectives and outline for the event and ask for reactions, concerns, suggestions.
- **To find out what participants know/want to know about the theme.**
  - —Begin by having people identify what they want to know. For example, ask people in two's to write down two questions they want answered during the session; or to identify two questions they would like to ask a fellow trade unionist, woman, churchperson etc. from South Africa, and two things they would like to tell that person about the situation they face in Canada.
  - — Find out what people already know/images they have about South Africa. For example, ask, "what words come to your mind when I say South Africa". Or have a large map of South Africa drawn on newsprint, with coloured markers available. Ask people one by one to come and draw symbols or words indicating one thing they know about South Africa and explain to the group.

STRUCTURING THE CONTENT TO MAKE IT MORE PARTICIPATORY

Why maximize participation?

- to work towards a more democratic form of education
- to use the resources of the group more effectively, allowing knowledge to be shared
- to encourage interaction among participants, rather than only between the resource person/facilitator and the individual learner
- to ensure that a few people are not able to dominate the discussion.

To ensure that everyone can participate, your program should use a variety of techniques, taking into account that people learn in different ways. In choosing techniques, however, don't forget to refer to the checklist outlined in Section 2. What follows are a few suggestions for tools you can use to maximize participation.

SOME TECHNIQUES TO USE

- **Two's** Have people talk to a neighbour for a few minutes to begin discussion of a theme, to generate ideas. This is a very effective tool and ensures that everyone will talk. To prevent long, boring report backs in larger groups, you can ask the first couple to give you 2-3 of their points and continue the round, asking for **new** points only.
- **Small Groups** Small group work increases participation. It also offers the opportunity for working at several tasks simultaneously. (Everyone does not have to discuss everything.) When using small groups be sure that your instructions are clear. It helps to write them out on sheets

of paper for each group, or up on the flip chart. Tell groups how much time they have. Also think ahead as to **where** the groups will meet and how they will be chosen. (Numbering off etc.)

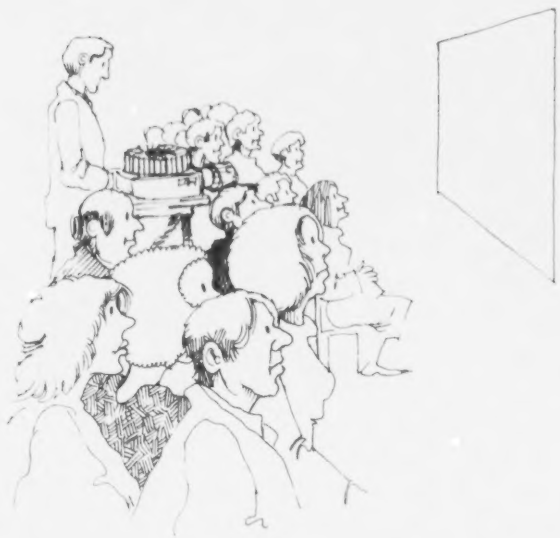
- **Using a Flip Chart** — Putting peoples' ideas on paper helps underline that their contribution has value. The flip chart also helps collectivize the learning process so that everyone can see, and therefore agree/disagree with points or conclusions listed.
- **Brainstorming** This is used to produce a pool of ideas leading to creative action. After brainstorming, you can then prioritize the best ones.
  The rules are:
  — the more ideas the better — crazy or wild ideas are useful
  — build on other peoples' ideas; plagiarizing is encouraged!
  — there is no evaluation or criticism of any idea allowed.
  The facilitator times the input — usually relatively short (5 minutes) — and records **all** ideas on the flip chart.
- **Alternative techniques** There are many participatory techniques such as sculpturing, drawing, drama, photo stories, songwriting etc. described in the resources suggested in section five. The three workshop ideas offered in section four illustrate how several of these might be used.

MAXIMIZING PARTICIPATION USING AUDIO-VISUALS

In many of our events, videos, films, or slide tapes often play a central role. As with other techniques, be sure that they are chosen to meet a specific objective, and that you have previewed the resource so that you are familiar with its strengths and weaknesses. You should introduce the A.V. and plan a suitable follow-up or debriefing activity at the end.

Here are a few ideas for use:

- You might find out and record on flip chart what people already know about the issues explored in the A.V. **before** the viewing. Afterwards, ask what they want to add/subtract/change from their list. This also helps give you a sense of what people learned from the resource.
- Ask participants to watch the A.V. with different questions in mind. (See workshop example one in section 4). Or they might take different perspectives as they watch, to prepare for a **research role play.** (Described in the *variations* for workshop 3 in section 4).
- Small groups are asked to prepare a **review** of the film. You should write out some of the questions to be addressed. Prior to the viewing, have each group review the questions, adding any of their own. After the film, the groups are given time to prepare their review. These are shared, with the other groups acting as the audience, able to ask questions of the 'reviewers'.
- Warm people up for an audio-visual by having them imagine themselves in the situation which will be portrayed — or by short readings, poetry etc.



MAXIMIZING PARTICIPATION IN USING SPEAKERS

In a large event. While this format certainly has a place in our work, we need to recognize that it does not allow for much audience participation. People have usually come out to hear the speaker so small groups are not particularly effective. Some suggestions:

- The speaker or chairperson can call in advance for questions/areas people wish to see covered by the speaker and note them on a flip chart.
- Afterwards, follow-up possibilities should be offered for those interested. See 'Developing an Action Plan — Case one' later in this section.)

In a smaller group. The speaker should be clear as to the objectives of the speech, and be provided with information about the participants and their interests. The group should also be given all relevant information about the resource person. Some further suggestions:

- Preferably in a previous session, participants are asked to identify the most important questions they wish the speaker to address.
- Participants are asked to share with each other and with the speaker what they know about South Africa, or about the specific theme. The speaker is then asked to respond, pointing out areas where the media has mystified or distorted our information, and filling in important gaps in our understanding.
- Following the speaker, small group discussion is useful to generate comments and further questions.

RELATING BACK TO CANADA

As we mentioned earlier, a popular education approach to solidarity work means exploring connections between our lives here in Canada and what's happening in South Africa. Throughout this kit, the materials try to do this in several ways. . .

BY MAKING SECTORAL CONNECTIONS

By working with specific sectors, we can explore connections between Canadian trade unionists, women etc. and their counterparts in South Africa. Common struggles can be identified — such as the fight for better wages and working conditions. Concrete connections can be examined — layoffs in Canada by companies who move to South Africa to take advantage of the slave wages paid to black workers under apartheid. The SACTU Solidarity Committee has developed some good materials and methods for helping make these connections with workers. The USERS GUIDE TO THE DIALOGUES in this kit also offers some ideas, as does Workshop example 2 in section four.

BY LOOKING AT CANADIAN GOVERNMENT POLICY AND CORPORATE INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

In Canada, we live in a profit-oriented system as do black South Africans, and some of the same companies operate in both contexts. We are also involved as Canadians through our government's policy in South Africa. Workshop example 3 in the next section suggests one way to work on this theme.

BY EXAMINING THE CANDIAN MEDIA COVERAGE OF EVENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

You can also raise questions about ownership and control of the Canadian media by looking at coverage of South Africa. (See workshop example one, section four). Working with specific sectors (women for example) you might begin by looking at how participants are portrayed by the media. Then ask the group how they **want** to be depicted. Look at images of South African blacks in the mass media — and then, using an alternative resource or resource person, at how they want to be depicted. Some interesting comparisons will emerge.

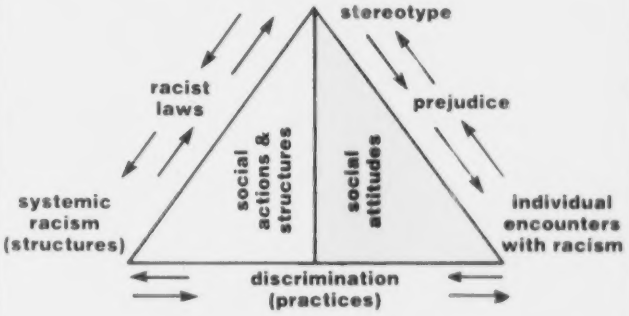
BY EXAMINING OUR OWN RACIST STRUCTURES HERE IN CANADA

Education programs about South Africa offer the opportunity to raise issues of racism here at home. What follows are a **few** ideas we've adapted from the resources indicated in Section five, in particular from *Combatting Racism in the Workplace*. We have done very little work in this area ourselves, and encourage you to consult resource people in your community who have been developing programs on racism in Canada. You might be able to work on some program ideas together.

Here are a few ideas to get you started:

- Using photos, cartoons or articles, one depicting blacks in South Africa and the other Canadian immigrants, have participants analyze how both groups are portrayed by the media.
- Small groups might look at specific themes in comparing the two articles or photos: — 'violence', 'incompetence' etc. Groups could analyze how the racist images are the same/different and how they reinforce each other.
- Have different articles or photos for each group. Ask each group to analyze its article (photo) for racist implications, using some guiding questions prepared in advance. (For example of questions, see *Combatting Racism in the Workplace*, pp 81-84.)

A Tool For Analysis



stereotype: an 'instant' or fixed picture of a group of people.

prejudice: to 'pre-judge' another person or group.

discrimination: action or behaviour based on prejudiced feelings. To discriminate, a group must have some power over another group.

systemic racism: actions or institutional practices (backed by power) which subordinate people because of their colour or ethnicity.

A WORKSHOP IDEA

- **Begin** by having people share any experience they've had with racism — experienced or observed.
- Use the triangle above to define terms in talking about racism and to show the difference between **attitudes** and **structures.**
- Have all participants view the film *Emigrante* (13 minutes), available from the Development Education Centre in Toronto. Ask them to pay special attention to Rosemary Brown's story.
- **Then** — in small groups, give each group a copy of the 'tool for analysis' and ask them to locate Rosemary Brown's story on each part of the triangle.
  a) the part she **told.** (This will likely be identified easily as attitudes: stereotyping, prejudice and individual encounter)
  b) the **unspoken** part. Ask what **practices** caused the situation to happen in the first place. (i.e. position of black women in the labour force)
- **Next,** have participants read the WOMEN'S DIALOGUE from this kit (or the story of another South African woman — Winnie Mandela would be a good choice). Locate her story on the points of the triangle as well.

- **Then,** compare the two. Hopefully participants will note:
  a) the effects of racism seen in structures and practices in **both** contexts
  b) further seen in South Africa in lack of rights written in laws. Also stress that both women in the examples are well-educated. The situation for working class black women is much worse.
- **Finally,** discuss where and how to intervene to combat racism in each context. Stress the importance of tackling structures that maintain and promote racist attitudes.

DEVELOPING AN ACTION PLAN

This is a key phase in any educational event — to ensure that the participants have an opportunity to act on what they've learned.

Here are some suggestions for facilitating that process.

BEFORE THE EVENT

- Have some ideas for action yourself. Know what local actions campaigns or national efforts are being planned. Have resources available such as lists of products to boycott, letter writing guide etc. You might also consult the WHAT CAN WE DO piece in this kit for further suggestions.
- Be realistic about how far you can go in the time you have.
- Help the group distinguish between **long** and **short** term actions.
- Clarify the possibilities and limitations of the group for action. Your participants are likely to fall into one of the three cases described below.

AT THE EVENT

We will look at three possible cases:

Case one: a collection of individuals
- Where there is little possibility for group action, the focus should be on what the individual can do. To generate ideas in a workshop, you can use steps one and two outlined under *action plan* below.
- Participants should be encouraged to join ongoing campaigns or programs of other groups — such as boycotts, letter writing etc.
- The group members could all write letters to the government at the end of the session and mail them.
- Each person could write a 'memo' to him/herself outlining what action he/she will take as follow-up.
- It is important that these opportunities be used to encourage the individuals to become members of ongoing anti-apartheid groups. Have a sign-up list available.

Case two: potential to form a group
Here the important action will be the decision to organize a group. However, developing an action plan, who is to do what by when, is crucial to moving group organization forward (See *action plan* below)

Case three: on-going group
This is a situation where follow through is possible and offers the most potential for action. It is important that the group define actions which they will get involved in implementing, which take into account the resources and limitations of the group. (See *action plan* below).

STEPS IN MAKING AN ACTION PLAN

step one: Brainstorm ideas as to 'what we can do'. The facilitator can also add suggestions. (See 'how to' on brainstorming earlier in this section).

step two: In two's, small groups or as a full group (if small enough) discuss which ideas make most sense, taking into account the group's resources, possibilities and limitations, as well as ongoing campaigns and actions by other groups.

step three: Ask participants to choose two that they would get involved in and list on flip chart.

step four: Prioritize two actions from the list.

Ways to prioritize quickly
- **Dotocracy** — If the ideas are clearly listed, give everyone two coloured dots and have them stick the dots beside the two ideas of their choice.
- **Grouping** — Ask people to write their two priority action suggestions on pieces of paper with magic marker. Have the first person put them up on a wall with tape. Subsequent people put **similar** suggestions **underneath** and **new** ones **beside** those already up. The two ideas named by most participants are chosen.

step five: On flip chart, take each idea in turn and break it down by your objective, what needs to be done, by whom and when. By the end of the event, you should at least have identified the first steps.

EXAMPLE

Objective: to get our city declared an apartheid free zone		
What	**By Whom**	**By When**
• get info. on other cities who have done this • find out what we'd have to do at our City Hall	Helen Joe	Next meeting (Sept. 14)

SECTION FOUR: WORKSHOP EXAMPLES

The program outlines which follow are designed to generate ideas — to look concretely at ways the materials in this kit might be used in a workshop setting. However, all of the programs will need to be adapted to your specific context.

The workshop ideas which follow deal with three themes:	
Media coverage of South Africa	Full day
Links between trade unionists in Canada and South Africa (could also be adapted for use with women, the church, etc.)	Half day
Canadian South African relations	3 hours

Two of the programs are aimed at either mixed or sectoral groups, while one is geared specifically to trade unionists. The variations recommend adaptations for shorter time periods and specific constitutencies where appropriate.

So let's look at the first example: **Media Coverage of South Africa.**

THEME ONE: MEDIA COVERAGE OF SOUTH AFRICA

For many workshop participants who are just beginning to explore what's going on in South Africa, their main source of information and images is likely to have been the media. So to begin with 'where people are at', media messages about South Africa is often the starting point for our programs. After surfacing the media messages, particularly the myths, the task is to help people become more aware of **where their information comes from, how it is constructed and how it is 'framed'.** This process is important both for exposing the point of view or 'frame' hidden in the media coverage, and for beginning to counter the myths, which in media stories are often portrayed as 'givens'. The MYTH EXPLODERS in this kit attempt to name and begin to counter some of the most important of these media myths. Here is a suggestion for working with a specific group on this theme.

Time: Full Day

Participants: 15-25 mixed group or sectoral (women, students etc.)

Objectives
- To expose the 'frame' used by the mass media in their coverage of South Africa
- To deepen participants' understanding of the South African situation
- To identify a media strategy and/or other forms of support for the struggle in South Africa

Materials:
- Video clips of T.V. coverage of South Africa and monitor and video units. (Or use newspaper clippings — see *Variations*)
- Copy of 'T.V. Guide' (see below) for everyone
- Copies for everyone of MYTH EXPLODERS (especially #'s 1,2,5) and the APARTHEID/FREEDOM CHARTER piece
- flip chart, masking tape and marker pens

Preparation:
- Get video clips from CUSO (ECSA Desk, 135 Rideau St., Ottawa) or find someone you know with a video machine to record 15-20 minutes of news stories about South Africa
- Review the clips in advance to identify main messages, and the myths being emphasized.
- You might also consult *Between the Lines* (listed in Section 5) which is very useful on the media.
- If you use the sculpturing technique suggested, you should also review *A Popular Education Handbook* pp 30-32 or choose one of the techniques suggested in *Variations*.

METHOD: PROGRAM OUTLINE

1. **Introduction** (30 minutes)

Provide an opportunity for people to introduce themselves and to get to know each other a little as a group. You might also review the suggested plan for the day to make sure it meets peoples' expectations.

2. **Media messages about South Africa** (30 minutes)

Using the sculpturing technique, ask participants to build a collective picture of the main messages or images coming through in the mass media about South Africa. To decode the sculpture, ask people to name the images that they identified and note them on the flip chart.

3. **To deepen understanding of how media messages are structured — critical viewing of T.V. clips** (2 hours including break)

T.V. Guide

1. What impression is conveyed about what South Africa and South Africans are like?
2. What news **sources** are used:
   — How clearly identified are they? (name, where they live, what they do, their relationship or interests in the situation and groups they belong to.)
3. What **information** is provided?
   — How much is fact and how much opinion? Whose opinion(s)? Do you have any unanswered questions?
4. What impression is conveyed about the situation in South Africa and about South Africans from the **visuals?**
   — Who do you see? What messages do you get? Who do you **not** see?
5. What is the **point of view or bias** of the reporter?
   — Whose interests are favoured? How?

Ask people to number off by questions (1-5). Give everyone the 'T.V. Guide'. Ask participants to watch the T.V. clips, looking for the answer to their question. View the clips (maximun 15-20 mins.) Following the video, participants are asked to meet with others, who had the same question (i.e. all #1's meet together), to briefly (10 minutes) summarize the main points, bringing their **two** most important observations back to the group.

BREAK (15 minutes)

In the full group:

- Hear a brief report from each group, with a chance for other groups to question and comment. (This process could be omitted.)
- List main messages in the clips, and compare to messages the group outlined in the sculpture earlier. Make a composite list, accounting for any differences. (Keep this list for use in the p.m.)
- Ask what problems we face if we want to find out what's really going on in South Africa.
- Summarize: — the need to look critically at media reports — the need for alternative information.

LUNCH BREAK (1 hour)

Note that after lunch it is always a good idea to have an 'energizer' — a game, a few exercises — anything to get the blood flowing again.

4. **To deepen understanding of the situation in South Africa — introduction of some alternative information** (90 minutes)

Number off into **small groups of five.** Give each group some alternative material. You may give each group all of the items or divide it amongst the groups. (We suggest the MYTH EXPLODERS esp. #'s 1,2, and 5, and several pages of the APARTHEID FREEDOM CHARTER piece from this kit. (A film is also a good alternative.)

Task: (30 min) Read the material together and identify the main messages it contains about South Africa from the perspective of those fighting apartheid.

In the full group, do a second sculpture of those messages/images from the alternative information.

Decode:

- List the messages in the second sculpture on the flip chart, clarifying any points that weren't clear for people in the information given.
- Compare to those from the mass media we identified earlier (have flip chart summary available) (Note any differences in feeling, form between the two sculptures as well.)
- Why are they different? (sources etc.)
- Note the major areas of distortion, gaps in the media coverage.

5. **What can we do?** (45 minutes)

In two's, take five minutes to brainstorm ideas given the following questions:

- *Name two ways our group can help get better information to the Canadian public about what's happening in South Africa?*
- *Name two other actions we can take as a group to support South Africans in their struggle against apartheid?*

In the full group, list ideas on each question. Here you might want to identify ongoing campaigns or suggest actions that other groups are taking which can be added to the list. (See WHAT CAN WE DO piece in this kit.)

Give everyone two dots and ask them to stick the dots beside two ideas they are willing to work on. Identify **the first step** for implementing each idea, noting who will do what, by when (Review *Developing an Action Plan* in Section 3.)

6. **Evaluation and workshop review** (15 minutes)

Briefly review the day. Ask participants to reflect on what they liked best and least, what they learned, and what they will do next as a result of the workshop.

VARIATIONS

- ☐ Leave out the analysis of the T.V. clips and simply compare the messages coming through in the media with alternative information. Pose the question, 'why are they different? Who owns the media? etc.'
- ☐ Use recent newspaper, or radio clips, varying the 'T.V. Guide' accordingly.
- ☐ Substitute a good A.V., South African resource person or other alternative materials for those suggested from the kit under point 4 above.
- ☐ Instead of sculpturing, use 'drawing' (See *A Popular Education Handbook*, pp 39-42) or simply a **listing** of the images or messages in small groups.

THEME TWO: LINKS BETWEEN WORKERS IN CANADA AND SOUTH AFRICA

Often the question one runs up against in educationals about another country such as South Africa is 'What's that got to do with me'? A workshop relating to a specific sector in both countries can point to similarities and differences and allow participants to answer that question for themselves and move to act on the new understanding. The following is a program idea focused on trade unions which can be adapted for other sectors.

Time:	Half day (3½ hours)
Participants:	20-25 trade unionists (local, regional or national level)
Objectives:	• To increase participants' understanding of the situation facing trade unionists in South Africa • To identify similarities and differences between Canadian and South African workers in order to: — recognize that **we** have something to learn from **them** — develop a plan of action in order to support South African trade unionists.
Materials:	• An audio-visual showing problems facing trade unionists in South Africa (One possibility is the video from SACTU listed in the RESOURCE LIST) • TRADE UNION DIALOGUE from this kit (copies for everyone) • Flip chart, masking tape, magic markers
Preparation:	Read the background sectoral paper on TRADE UNIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA included in this kit.

METHOD: Program Outline:

1. **Introductions** (15 minutes)

Give people a chance to introduce themselves, and get to know each other a little. Also, review the agenda to be sure that it meets peoples' expectations.

2. **Problems facing workers in Canada** (15 minutes)

You have 5 minutes to talk to the neighbour on your left and decide:

- *What would you want South African trade unionists to know about you and your union? For example:*
  What are you up against? How are you organized to fight those problems?

Ask the first pair to report and then other pairs to add *new* points only. Record points on flip chart.

3. **Problems facing workers in South Africa/how they are organized** (60 minutes)

The group views the film, slide show — or hears a speaker talking about the experience of South African trade unionists. Following the presentation, give people a few minutes back with their partner (same pairs) to pull out the problems facing South African workers and how they are organized to fight those problems. List in plenary in the same way as above.

BREAK (15 minutes)

4. **Identifying similarities and differences** (60 minutes)

If possible, ask three members of the group *in advance* to prepare to read the dialogue to the whole group. Otherwise, the reading can be done in small groups.

Number off into groups of about four. Give each person a copy of the TRADE UNION DIALOGUE. Ask each group to choose:

- someone to record the discussion
- someone to lead the discussion
- three people to read the parts aloud

Group task: *(30 mins)*

- *Read the dialogue aloud.*
- *Identify from the dialogue the similarities and differences in the situation facing South African and Canadian workers that apply to you.*
- *Add any other points, not in the dialogue, that you think have been missed.*

In the plenary, the first group reports and the others only add new points.

5. **What can we do** (30 minutes)

People are again asked to take a few minutes with a neighbour to discuss the following questions:

- *What can we learn from South African trade unionists that can be applied to the situation facing working people in Canada today?*
- *In what ways can we support their struggle?*

After five minutes, ask for ideas to be shared on each question in turn. On the second question, list the ideas on the flip chart. Have the group choose two ideas they think they can do. Develop an action plan for two ideas, identifying concretely what will be done, by whom and when to begin to implement the plan. (Review *Developing an action plan* in Section 3.)

6. **Evaluation and wrap up** (15 minutes)

Briefly, review the day. Ask participants to say what they liked, didn't like, learned, and what they plan to do next as a result of the workshop.

Variations

- The same program could be adapted for use with women's groups, students, church people etc. The resources would need to change, as might the techniques used for animating the discussion.
- For a session of 1-2 hours, you might just use the DIALOGUE (as described in (4) above), followed by asking 'What can we do' to support the struggle of South African trade unionists.
- With *more* time, you could use other methods of animating the discussion, including sculpting the problems facing workers in Canada, or drawing the similarities and differences. The *Popular Education Handbook* describes a one day session on this theme with unemployed workers looking at problems facing trade unionists in Central America. (pp 19-21)

THEME THREE: RELATIONS BETWEEN CANADA AND SOUTH AFRICA

Canadian foreign policy on South Africa is a reflection of how our government views events in that country. Using the paper in this kit called CANADIAN CONNECTIONS we can help participants focus on what they think Canada's relations with South Africa should be and gauge how accurately the Canadian government reflects 'our' thinking. This theme might be dealt with better after participants have developed some understanding of the situation in South Africa and are moving towards the development of a plan of action. Outlined below is an approach for making people more critically aware of Canadian relations with South Africa.

Time:	3 hours
Participants:	20-30, preferably a group that has some form of organization to ensure follow-up.
Objectives:	• to explore current Canadian policy on South Africa and develop a critique of that policy. • to engage people in discussing alternative policy • to begin to develop action plans to move present policy towards the alternative we would like to see.
Materials:	• The CANADIAN CONNECTIONS from this kit • flip chart, masking tape, lots of markers
Preparation:	• to study the CANADIAN CONNECTIONS paper and have the latest information on Canadian government policy towards South Africa • Read about 'Drawing' as a technique (See Section 5)

METHOD: PROGRAM OUTLINE

1. **Introductions** (15 minutes)

Provide an opportunity for people to introduce themselves and get to know each other a little as a group. Review the suggested plan to make sure it meets peoples' expectation.

2. **Our relationship to South Africa:** Beginning with what people already know. (15 mins.)

Discuss in pairs the connections you think there are between Canada and South Africa. Share in the large group and note on a flip chart.

3. **Drawing the connections** (90 minutes including break)

Number off into groups of five people. Give each person the article CANADIAN CONNECTIONS and each group coloured markers and flip chart paper.

Task (in 45 mins.)

- *Read the article*
- *Choose a recorder and chairperson for the discussion*
- *Discuss and note down the main elements in our relationship with South Africa (both from the article and from those noted earlier)*
- *Identify those you think are **most important** and **draw** them, showing the relationships visually.*

BREAK (15 minutes)

Decode in full group (in 30 mins.)

- Group one shows its drawing and the others try to 'read' it. Then other groups show theirs. Note on flip chart the main relationships.
- Ask *who benefits* (and how) and *who loses* (and how) from each relationship, both in Canada and South Africa.
- Summarize relationships, who is benefitting and who is losing.

4. **Changes needed/what can we do** (45 minutes)

Return to same small groups (20 minutes)

***Task:** Draft a letter to the Minister of External Affairs, telling him how Canadian policy needs to change to benefit the majority of South Africans.*

In plenary: (25 min.)

- Identify whether draft letters will be sent individually or a composite prepared (who to do what by when)
- Briefly brainstorm other actions the group can take. Set a date to explore them more fully.

(Note that you may want to refer to the WHAT CAN WE DO piece in this kit — especially the sample letter-writing format.)

5. **Evaluation and wrap up** (15 minutes)

Briefly review the day. Ask participants to reflect on what they liked best and least, what they learned, and what they will do next as a result of the workshop.

Variations:

- ☐ Replace the resource, CANADIAN CONNECTIONS with other material which examines Canadian/South African relations.
- ☐ Groups might look at different aspects of Canada-South Africa relations: trade, corporate investment etc.
- ☐ If you have more time, rather than drawing the connections, small groups might prepare for a **research role play.**
  - Each group is asked to choose a representative to present its major points or interests about Canadian/South African relations to a media event or policy conference.
  - The Canadian government, Canadian corporations with interests in South Africa, Canadian businesses which are subsidiaries of South African companies, Canadian churches and/or the sector you are working with (trade unions for example), solidarity groups, spokespersons for the Canadian black community might be some of those represented.
  - You would need to prepare a short briefing for each group, outlining the task, some questions to prepare, with material to help develop their positions. (CANADIAN CONNECTIONS could provide some of that, but other materials would need to be added.)

This is a particularly good approach for a series of high school classes. (For a description of the 'Research Role Play' with an example given, see CUSO's *Basics and Tools).*

SECTION FIVE: POPULAR EDUCATION RESOURCES

Here's what follows in this section:

- a **list of people** who might be able to help with the methodology, the plan for your program.
- a list of some of the **print materials** we've found helpful in preparing and carrying out programs.
- a few suggestions which we hope will encourage you to begin **creating your own resources.**

Note: Elsewhere in this kit there is a DIRECTORY OF GROUPS and organizations doing work on South Africa and a RESOURCE LIST for up-to-date information and analysis. The sheet on CULTURE AS RESISTANCE also has suggestions for cultural resources you may want to use in your education programs. And don't forget to look around your own community — there will be a lot of human and material resources you can tap into.

PEOPLE RESOURCES

Most provinces in Canada have an active core of adult/popular educators who have developed a great degree of experience in planning education programs. Here are some ways to contact them.

- A good place to begin would be to contact the *Development Education or Learner Centre* near you. Many of these centres have from 10-15 years experience in running programs on international development issues. One or more of their staff will be in charge of planning educational events and may be willing to discuss your plan or ideas with you. If you have difficulty locating one of these centres in your province, you can write for a list to:

  CUSO Development Education
  135 Rideau St.
  Ottawa, Ontario K1N 9K7

- In some cases, CUSO and OXFAM regional offices can put you in touch with other people who might be able to help. There are also regional staff of other international and church organizations who can be of assistance.
- Women's centres, poverty organizations, trade union educators, peace groups, social justice networks, other solidarity and community organizations face similar problems to yours in carrying out their education programs. You might seek them out to share ideas — and get to know them in the process.
- More recently there has been a growth in interest in popular education methodology. Some provinces have either a centre or a network of people from different institutions or groups who meet regularly. In other provinces a looser coalition of non-formal adult educators working for social change exists and can be contacted through one of its members. CUSO, OXFAM, or the Learner Centres can put you in touch with these groupings. The Participatory Research Group might also be able to assist with contacts, and its newsletter reflects the experiences of a variety of groups across Canada.

  PRG
  Rm. 303, 229 College St.
  Toronto, Ontario M5T 1R4

PRINTED MATERIALS

Below you will find a few materials to get you started. There are many other resources, but the bibliographies in the books listed can help you access other materials when and if you need them.

THEORY OF POPULAR EDUCATION

Freire, Paulo. *Education for Critical Consciousness.* New York: Herder and Herder, 1972.

Freire, Paulo. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed.* New York: Continuum, 1983.

Mackie, Robert (editor). *Literature and Revolution: the Pedagogy of Paulo Friere.* London: Pluto Press, 1980.

We have chosen Paulo Freire, not because he is the **only** author relevant to the theory of education for critical consciousness — but as a major influence on popular education methodology. The Mackie book is a series of essays by people writing critically about Freire's approach.

METHODOLOGY

Arnold, Barndt and Burke. *A New Weave: Popular Education in Canada and Central America.* Toronto: CUSO/OISE, 1985.

Czerney, Michael S.J. and Swift, Jamie, *Getting Started on Social Analysis in Canada,* Toronto: Between the Lines, 1984.

Gatt Fly. *Ah-Hah! A New Approach to Popular Education.* Toronto: Between the Lines, 1983.

Reed, David. *Education for Building a Peoples' Movement.* Boston: South End Press, 1981.

Vio Grossi, Francisco. "Popular Education: Concept and Implications', in *Convergence,* Vol. xiv, No. 2, 1981.

A New Weave gives an introduction to popular education and focuses some discussion on the methodology as 'a new way of thinking'. *Getting Started* introduces social analysis and applies it to Canadian issues. The Gatt Fly book describes an approach to doing social analysis — the *Ah-Hah seminar,* while David Reed outlines his work through three case studies. The Vio Grossi article gives a good definition of popular education.

PROGRAM IDEAS

Although many of these programs do not directly deal with South Africa, they will generate ideas you can adapt to your work.

Arnold, Rick and Burke, Bev. *A Popular Education Handbook*. Toronto: CUSO/OISE, 1980.

Bigelow, William. *Strangers in Their Own Country: A Curriculum Guide on South Africa*. New Jersey: Africa World Press, 1985. (DEC books in Toronto stocks it.)

Huntley, Alyson et al.*Political and Social Rights and Human Dignity*. Vol. 3 of a Justice Education Curriculum. Available from the Christian Movement for Peace, 427 Bloor St. W., Toronto M5S 1X7.

MacLean, Eleanor. *Between the Lines: How to Detect Bias and Propaganda in the News and Everyday Life*. Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1980.

The Pula Collective. *Pula: A Board Game on Life in a South African Village*. Available soon, but we don't know how. Contact CUSO or OXFAM in Ottawa for details.

Thomas, Barb and Novogrodsky, Charles. *Combatting Racism in the Workplace: A Course for Workers*. Toronto: Cross Cultural Communications Centre, 1983.

A New Weave and the *Ah-Hah Seminar* books mentioned above under methodology have program ideas worth taking a look at. The *Popular Education Handbook* has 3 program outlines for work on Central America issues, while *Combatting Racism in the Workplace* is self-explanatory. Earlier we mentioned *Between the Lines* as a useful resource for work on the media. *Strangers in Their Own Country* and *Political and Social Rights* are curriculum pieces designed for high school and include excellent ideas and classroom materials on South Africa. *Pula* is a board game on rural life in Southern Africa.

PARTICIPATORY TECHNIQUES

Barndt, Cristall, and marino. *Getting There: Producing Photo Stories with Immigrant Women*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 1983.

Centre for Conflict Resolution, *A Manual for Group Facilitators*. Madison, Wisconsin 53703, USA.

Coover, Viriginia et al. *Resource Manual for a Living Revolution*. Philadelphia: New Society, 1978.

Kidd, Ross and Byran, Martin. *Popular Theatre and Non-Formal Education in Botswana*. Working Paper #5. Toronto: Participatory Research Group, 1982.

Mantle, Arlene et al. *ESL — Four Case Studies*. Working Paper No. 9. Toronto: Participatory Research Group, 1982.

marino, dian. *Drawing from Action for Action: Drawing and Discussion as a Popular Education Process*. Toronto: Participatory Research Group, 1981.

Neighbourhood Action, Sticks and Stones and Friends. *Neighbourhood Action: Recipes for Change*. Sudbury: Acme Printers, 1985.

Although these books do not use the techniques in education programs about South Africa, they suggest ideas you can easily adapt.

There are many books you can consult. Of those mentioned earlier, *A Popular Education Handbook* has 'how to' sections on drawing, songwriting, role play, sociodrama and sculpturing. *Combatting Racism* creatively uses case studies, and *A New Weave* has a section on 'new ways to do old tasks'. *Recipe for Change* is produced by a Sudbury popular theatre group, although the ideas span much more than drama. The *Resource Manual* is a good source book for ideas both for your outreach programs, and for organizing within your groups. *Getting There* illustrates the use of photo stories, while *ESL — 4 Case Studies* looks at producing materials with program participants — such as photostories, slide tape shows and songwriting. Use of drawing is further elaborated in dian marino's book, while the Ross Kidd piece describes experiences with popular theatre.

CREATING YOUR OWN RESOURCES

There are many excellent resources (audio-visuals, etc), available which you will certainly want to use in your programs. However, there are also times when you will want to create your own:

- to make the program materials more relevant to your local context.
- to engage participants in the process — to use resource production as an educational tool.
- to help 'broadcast' the program results. For example, the drawings produced by the group working at workshop idea two in Section 4 might be posted in a church or workplace, or used as part of a newsletter.

Here are a few ideas to get you started. . .

SLIDE TAPE PRESENTATIONS

Particularly geared to your major constituencies. You might use the BACKGROUND SECTORAL PAPERS or the DIALOGUESas the basis for a script, getting some people you are trying to reach to help with the questions they would want to pose, and to collect the Canadian visuals. For a 'how-to' on slide-tape production, see *A Popular Education Handbook*, Chapter five.

MEDIA RESOURCES

Tape radio clips, video T.V. coverage and clip newspapers on South Africa. (One group found the Globe and Mail ads by the South African government especially useful.) Put them together in a packet of materials you might use — for example, in Workshop Idea One in Section 4 for working at the media depiction of South Africa.

PHOTO STORIES

There are numerous ways to use photo stories. For example, with a series of photos and APARTHEID FREEDOM CHARTER piece from this kit, a group could be asked to come up with a photo story of what South Africans are fighting against and what they are fighting for. It could then be a resource for others, be posted in a workplace, or reworked by you for use as a discussion starter in other groups. Refer to the resource list under 'participatory techniques' for references on photo stories.

CULTURAL RESOURCES

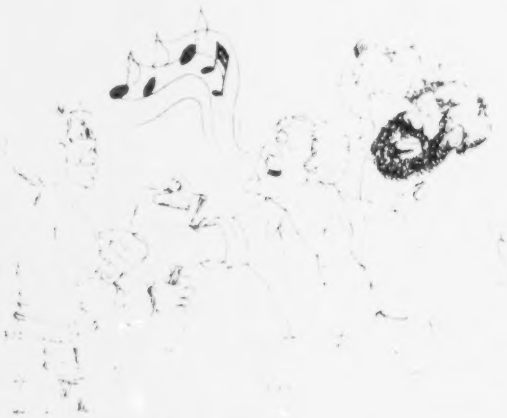
A tape of South African music, a photo exhibit, a poetry booklet might be put together as resources for use in workshops — and as handouts in events. By involving participants in such a task, there are educational spin-offs in understanding the experience of apartheid and developing an appreciation of South African culture.

WRITE YOUR OWN DIALOGUE

Using the DIALOGUE in this kit as a basis, you and your participants could rewrite the dialogue following some study of the Background Sectoral Paper to make it more relevant to your context, or an acceptable size for a newsletter, perhaps adding photos and illustrations as well.

SONGWRITING

Involve a local musician in working with your group to create songs which can then be used in a newsletter or sung at demonstrations. Refer to the earlier section on 'Participatory Techniques', especially Arlene Mantle on songwriting in *ESL — Four Case Studies*.



POPULAR THEATRE

Work with a local theatre group to develop a play — possibly on a theme such as racism which would link your local situation to that of South Africa. Produce a play on South Africa using an already prepared script. (One example is the play, *Songs from Soweto* — script available from Lois Berman, 250 West 57th Street, New York, NY 10019.) Write and produce a play yourselves to use as a resource in educational events. The schools' program at the International Centre at Queens University in Kingston, Ontario has very successfully developed plays on Latin America and South Africa to use with students.

All that's left is for you to try out some of these ideas, adapting them to your own situation. Then hopefully we can share some of *your* experiences!

APPENDIX ONE: A WORKSHOP PLANNING TOOL

Objectives: Theme:				Time: Participants:		
LOGIC	OBJECTIVE	THEME	ACTIVITY	PROCEDURE	RESOURCES	TIME

APPENDIX ONE: A WORKSHOP PLANNING TOOL

Objectives: (as in workshop idea one)
Theme: The mass media and South Africa

Time: 3 hours (evening)
Participants: 15 Church People

LOGIC	OBJECTIVE	THEME	ACTIVITY	PROCEDURE	RESOURCES	TIME
Starting with what people know	• To get to know each other		• Pairs to introduce each other	• Ask people to choose someone they don't know • Talk for 2 min. and be ready to introduce the other person to the group • Share in plenary		20 minutes
	• To identify images of South Africa people having picked up from the media	Media messages about South Africa	• Drawing in 3 groups • Decode in plenary	• Number off into 3 groups. Task: — appoint a recorder and chairperson — share images we get from the media about South Africa and list on flip chart — Choose the main ones and visually depict them to bring back to the rest of the group Decode — ask group one to put up their drawing and others to 'read' images — same for other groups — Note major media messages on flip chart	• 3 sets magic markers (different colours) • 3 spaces for groups to work • Flip chart paper • Masking tape	30 minutes in groups 30 minutes to decode
Deepening the analysis Return to action						

This is from a kit called **South Africa on the Move**, available from CUSO, ECSA desk, 135 Rideau St., Ottawa, Ont. K1N 9K7.

WHAT CAN WE DO

*There is an undeclared war in South Africa today — the white minority government against the black majority. South Africa's racist regime has the arms, but the black population has the will and the numbers to dismantle apartheid and begin to build a new, non-racial democracy. Black South Africans have worked out their agenda — basic demands they hope the international community will support. As Canadians we have to work on **our** agenda — actions we can take here to build opposition to apartheid, while supporting the South African liberation struggle.*

In this section we will be referring to some of the most important **basic demands** being made by black South Africans. Bearing these demands in mind, we will look for **pressure points** where we think our own industry and government may be vulnerable. This will put us in a better position to devise an **action strategy** which will be effective in changing current Canadian foreign policy towards South Africa.

1. THE BASIC DEMANDS

In beginning to build an action strategy, it is important to be familiar with the demands of South Africans who are challenging apartheid. The most important are:

- one person, one vote. Full political rights for all South Africans.
- an immediate stop to arbitrary bannings, detention without trial and official torture and violence.
- restoration of citizenship for all South Africans.
- an end to forced removals and the separation of families.
- abolition of bantustans and group areas.
- release of all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela.
- common education system for all South Africans.
- recognition of the ANC.
- a halt to South Africa's aggressive raids against neighbouring countries.

2. THE PRESSURE POINTS

Despite indicating distaste for apartheid, the Canadian government maintains relations with South Africa. In addition, various Canadian firms have found it very profitable to be doing business with the white government, benefitting from the extremely low wages paid to the black labour force. South Africans have asked all foreign governments and businesses to take a stand against apartheid. As Canadians, we can put the pressure on at home so that both politicians and the business community feel the heat. Some of the key points are:

(i) **Canadian Foreign Policy** *

The Canadian government could:

- impose comprehensive sanctions against South Africa
- cut off diplomatic relations
- take an independent stand from U.K. and U.S. positions
- put pressure on other countries through international forums to follow Canada's example.

(ii) **Canadian Trade with South Africa**

The Canadian government has the power to:

- stop sales of Canadian technology to South Africa.
- Ban imports of all South African products.

(iii) **Canadian Investment in Apartheid**

Canadian companies and banks could:

- put on hold all new loans or capital investment planned for South Africa.
- disinvest — close down plants currently in operation and transfer assets elsewhere.

(iv) **Canadian subsidiaries of South African parent firms**

We could:

- identify subsidiaries and boycott their products so that profits don't go back into fueling apartheid (Caution — this strategy should be developed with workers whose jobs might be affected.)

* For components of an alternative policy, see 'A letter writing guide' in Appendix A.

3. ACTION STRATEGY

Having outlined some basic demands and suggested possible pressure points, we are ready to plan and implement an action strategy. In Canada a number of successful actions against apartheid have already been taken that have resulted in:

- cities being declared 'apartheid free zones'
- university disinvestments
- corporate withdrawals/fewer new investments
- ban on South African liquor sales by some provincial boards
- Canadian government adopting selective sanctions
- growing impact of work done by anti-apartheid groups, churches, unions and other organizations.

Although hard work by concerned Canadians has paid off in noticeable changes, nevertheless a great deal remains to be done.

Although the ideas which follow are not complete, or adapted to particular constituencies, we hope they will help to get your group started. In developing your action strategy it is important to:

- Find out what solidarity initiatives are already under way in your immediate area. You can learn from these experiences and perhaps to support an ongoing effort.
- Assess your own group's possibilities and also its limitations in carrying out an action strategy so as to maximize effectiveness and avoid discouragement.

IDEAS FOR ACTION

1. Workplace Actions
2. Civic Actions
3. Boycotts
4. Cultural Programs
5. Social Events
6. Approaching the Media
7. Information Pickets
8. Political Prisoner Campaigns
9. Financial Support
10. Contacting Politicians
11. Letter Writing Campaign
12. South African Solidarity Groups

WORKPLACE ACTIONS

- **Hold a meeting in your local** to spread the word about apartheid and discuss an action plan.
- **Refuse to handle South African goods.** Particularly suited for union members working in warehouses, supermarkets, offices and other workplaces who periodically encounter South African goods. Colleagues can be made aware of conditions for most workers under apartheid and of initiatives by other Canadians to put economic pressure on the South African government. Being more conscious of the situation, your fellow workers will be in a better position to join you in refusing to handle South African goods. For more information:

SACTU Solidarity Committee
c/o Jeff Keighley
3090 Kings Ave.
Vancouver, B.C. V5R 5A2

SACTU Solidarity Committee
P.O. Box 490, Station 'J'
Toronto, Ontario M4J 4Z2

CLC International Affairs Department
2841 Riverside Drive
Ottawa, Ontario K1V 8X7

- **Check into your pension fund investments** — another workplace action which involves a check to see where your money is invested. Contact your pension fund committee and ask them to look into ways of divesting funds that currently prop up apartheid.

CIVIC ACTION

Mount a city hall campaign to have your municipality declared an 'apartheid free zone', thereby cutting any possible ties between your city's or town's administration and South Africa.

BOYCOTTS

A direct means of objecting to apartheid and having an impact on ending it is through a contribution to the economic isolation of South Africa. Students through their classrooms or schools and other community members through local or sectoral organizations can initiate a boycott of South African products.

CULTURAL PROGRAMS

Artists can be an important support for our anti-apartheid work. Working with artists we can bring a new dimension and a new form to our events and reach out to involve new people who may be attracted by a play or some songs about South Africa.

SOCIAL EVENTS

Hold benefit dances or wine and cheese affairs to combine education and solidarity with fun — and raise money at the same time.

APPROACHING THE MEDIA

The media plays an important part in informing and educating Canadians about South Africa. The South African government and the supporters of apartheid use the media constantly to put their point of view forward, often by restating old myths. We should use the media to counter these myths and to make sure that our voices and the voices of the South African people get heard. (The six myth exploders included in this kit ought to be helpful here.)

Here are a few ideas:

- *monitor the media and get to know the programs and publications in your area*
- *refute articles, op-ed pieces and editorials. 'Letters to the Editor' of a newspaper can often serve this function.*
- *write an article for publication, particularly in the local press.*
- *offer to take part in radio or television shows.*
- *invite the reporters to cover some of your events.*

What other approaches to the media can you think of which might be more appropriate for your region?

INFORMATION PICKETS

Getting out on the street and demonstrating in key locations lets others see that opposition to apartheid is growing in Canada, and gives them a chance to talk with you or join your protest. It's always a good idea to have flyers on hand for one of your upcoming events so that the interested or curious can get a better understanding of what's going on in South Africa and what to do about it.

POLITICAL PRISONER CAMPAIGNS

The South African state has locked up thousands of political prisoners. Some, like Nelson Mandela, an ANC leader, have been in jail for over two decades. A campaign for the release of all political prisoners might be coordinated with the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa:

IDAFSA
P.O. Box 1034, Station B
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5R1

FINANCIAL SUPPORT

- **The ANC:**
  The African National Congress is the organization which represents the main opposition to apartheid. If you or your group wishes to support the struggle directly you can contact the Canadian ANC office at:

  African National Congress
  P.O. Box 302
  Adelaide Postal Station
  Toronto, Ontario M5C 2S4

- **Canadian NGO Projects**
  There are thousands of South African refugees who live in camps in neighbouring African countries. Organizations such as OXFAM, CUSO or the Canadian Churches have projects to support the refugees, which you can donate to and receive a tax receipt. These same agencies may also have development projects both inside and outside South Africa with youth, women and workers' organizations.

CONTACTING 'YOUR' POLITICIANS

You might decide to target those politicians who represent you locally, provincially and federally. Here the idea would be to get them 'on your side' by asking them to attend and/or endorse some of your activities. Make sure that any promises they make contain specific actions which you can monitor and remind them about if need be.

LETTER WRITING CAMPAIGN

We need to influence Canada's foreign policy towards South Africa. Sending letters to key politicians and representatives of the Canadian government lets them know that you want them to act to help end apartheid. Your group can monitor the responses you get and do some follow-up where necessary. A guide for writing such letters is in Appendix A.

SOUTH AFRICAN SOLIDARITY GROUPS

Across Canada there are established groups who have been working for many years to help bring about a free, democratic and non-racial future for South Africa. You can:

- *join the group in your area*
- *offer your support for specific activities*
- *offer your financial support*
- *or, begin a new group if there isn't one nearby.*

Consult the DIRECTORY in the kit, SOUTH AFRICA ON THE MOVE, for a list of organizations presently working to end Apartheid.

These then are a few action ideas which we hope will be useful for you to talk over with other members of your group, classroom, union, church or community. There are many other possibilities for building an action strategy suited to your local conditions — and the creative energies of your group! **IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE ACT NOW!** The mounting opposition inside South Africa is taking a heavy toll in human lives. Our efforts can help speed the liberation of South Africans from the injustice of apartheid.

A SAMPLE LETTER WRITING GUIDE:

WHAT: To help end apartheid and support an independent Canadian foreign policy on South Africa.

WRITE: in your own words to:

The Rt. Honourable Joe Clark
Secretary of State for External Affairs
House of Commons
Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0A6

SEND:

copies of your letter to (for example):

- Prime Minister Brian Mulroney
- your own Member of Parliament
- the editor of your local newspaper
- Mr. Stephen Lewis
  Canadian Ambassador to the United Nations
  United Nations Plaza
  New York, New York
- South African Ambassador

ASK: Here are a few sample points to include in your letter. The Canadian government should:

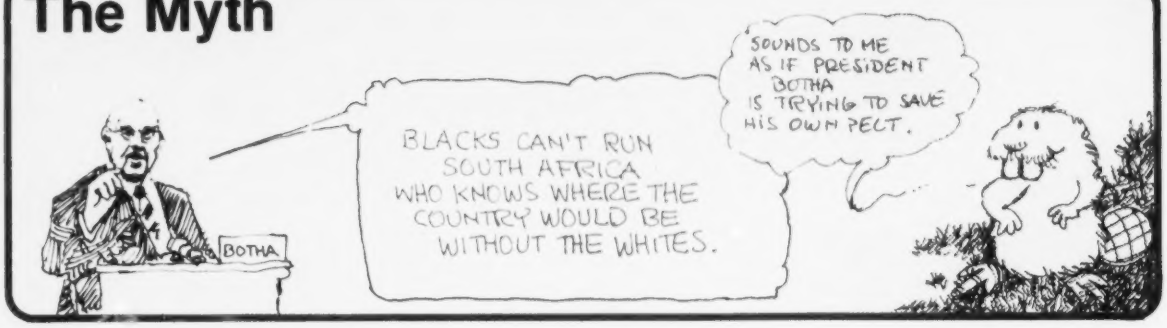
- institute immediate economic, political and cultural sanctions against South Africa.
- cease diplomatic relations with the present government until a free, democratic and non-racial state is created.
- recognize the African National Congress (ANC) as the legitimate representative of the people of South Africa and invite its president, Oliver Tambo, to Canada for the purpose of establishing bilateral relations.
- give special diplomatic and financial support to the front line African states in light of South Africa's military intervention against its neighbours.
- take further urgent action to bring about the independence of Namibia under U.N. resolution 435.
- commit aid funds to Canadian NGO's with projects relating to South Africa.
- support ANC refugee camps and UDF crisis centers.

REMEMBER:

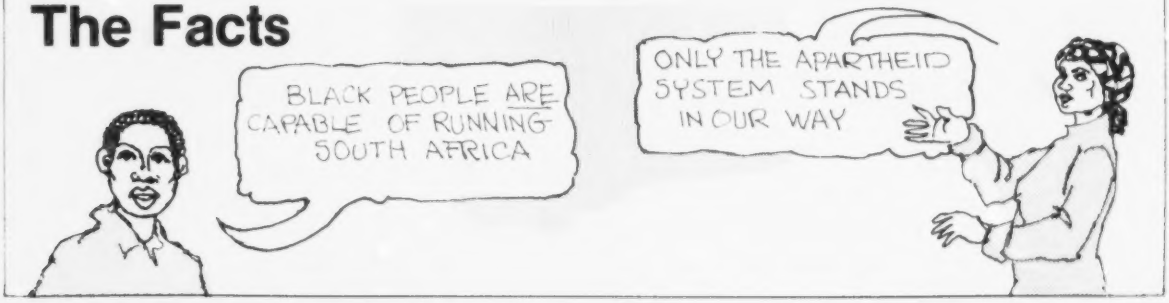
- to answer the letters you receive back, to continue the dialogue, **and** that. . .
- you don't need stamps when writing to members of Parliament in Ottawa.

This is from a kit called **South Africa on the Move,** available from CUSO, ECSA desk, 135 Rideau St., Ottawa, Ont. K1N 9K7.

The Myth


BOTHA
BLACKS CAN'T RUN SOUTH AFRICA WHO KNOWS WHERE THE COUNTRY WOULD BE WITHOUT THE WHITES.
SOUNDS TO ME AS IF PRESIDENT BOTHA IS TRYING TO SAVE HIS OWN PECT.

The Facts



Celebration of SACTU's 30th Anniversary in 1985.

BLACK LEADERSHIP TAKING CHARGE

- ☐ Black leaders of opposition organizations such as the banned African National Congress (ANC) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) have gained international recognition.
- ☐ Organizations representing women, youth and trade unionists are growing dramatically.
- ☐ At the township level, a new form of participatory leadership is being encouraged by civic associations and student committees. For example:
  - newly formed street committees combat crime and coordinate cleanups.
  - people's courts try wrongdoers and oversee rehabilitation programs.

LEADERS FEARED BY GOVERNMENT

The Pretoria regime constantly harasses and jails black leaders.

- ☐ Nelson Mandela (ANC) in jail since 1963.
- ☐ Oliver Tambo (ANC) forced into exile.
- ☐ Bishop Desmond Tutu under surveillance.
- ☐ Alan Boesak (UDF) charged with treason.

IMPACT VISUALS

WHITE REGIME 'MANAGES' THE ECONOMY TO BENEFIT A WHITE MINORITY

- ☐ Whites who form 15% of the population own 90% of the country's wealth.
- ☐ White wages are 4-6 times higher than black wages.
- ☐ Black unemployment is over 70% on many bantustans or 'homelands'.
- ☐ Housing conditions for most blacks stand in stark contrast to the frequently luxurious homes of whites.
- ☐ 30,000 black children die each year from diseases associated with poverty, in this, the richest country in Africa.

IDAF

IMPACT VISUALS

Meeting of the Mpukonyoni Farmers Union, an umbrella body which represents the farmers in this fertile region of Natal.

BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE A RIGHT TO RUN THEIR OWN COUNTRY

Although South Africa is a country rich in mineral resources with developed industries and advanced agriculture:

- ☐ The black majority, whose labour built the economic system under apartheid, has been impoverished.
- ☐ Africans, who form over 70% of the population, have been denied political rights and are not permitted to vote

The opponents of apartheid have a vision for the new society they are trying to create. It will be a non-racial democracy, free from economic exploitation and political repression.

This is part of a kit called **South Africa on the Move**. You can purchase a copy from CUSO, ECSA program, 135 Rideau Street, Ottawa, Ontario K1N 9K7

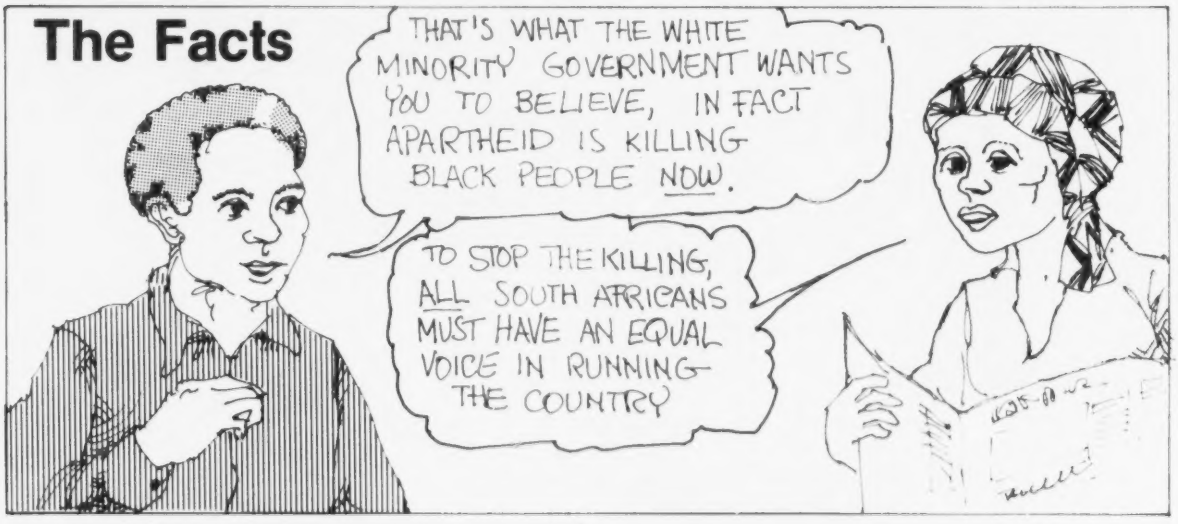
South Africa Myth Exploder Series

NO. 2

The Myth

IF BLACKS GAIN POWER IN SOUTH AFRICA THERE WILL BE A BLOODBATH.
...AND INFORMED SOURCES SAY THAT IN THE BLOODBATH NOT ONLY THE WHITES WILL DIE, BUT MANY BLACKS WILL BE KILLED IN TRIBAL WARFARE
HMM... I WONDER WHO THE INFORMED SOURCES COULD BE...

The Facts


THAT'S WHAT THE WHITE MINORITY GOVERNMENT WANTS YOU TO BELIEVE, IN FACT APARTHEID IS KILLING BLACK PEOPLE NOW.
TO STOP THE KILLING, ALL SOUTH AFRICANS MUST HAVE AN EQUAL VOICE IN RUNNING THE COUNTRY

THERE WILL BE A FUTURE FOR ALL RACES IN SOUTH AFRICA

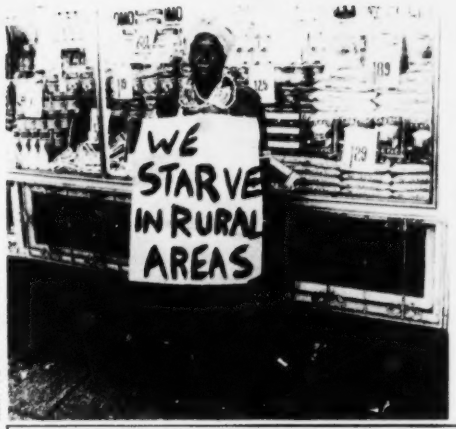
The **Freedom Charter**, the opposition's platform for a free South Africa states that:

- ***South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white.***
- ***The rights of the people shall be the same regardless of race, colour or sex.***
- ***All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride.***

Within the major organization opposing apartheid, the African National Congress (ANC), whites fight side by side with blacks to liberate their country.

IMPACT VISUALS

Allan Boesak, President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and Helen Joseph, veteran labour and women's organizer.



IMPACT VISUALS

APARTHEID KILLS BLACK PEOPLE NOW

- ☐ 9 million black children are malnourished and one dies every 15 minutes.
- ☐ 6½ million blacks were forcibly removed from their houses and lands between 1960 and 1980 and relocated in poverty stricken bantustans or 'homelands'.
- ☐ Over 1000 blacks protesting these conditions were killed by white troops in 1985.

GOVERNMENT POLICIES PROVOKE CONFLICTS AMONG BLACKS

- ☐ Massive relocation of blacks onto overcrowded bantustans leads to disputes over scarce resources.
- ☐ Vigilantes and provocateurs are paid by the white regime to create divisions in black communities.
- ☐ Black policemen and other officials carrying out the apartheid policies of the white regime are sometimes attacked and killed by other blacks.

IMPACT VISUALS

Police and Inkatha working together.

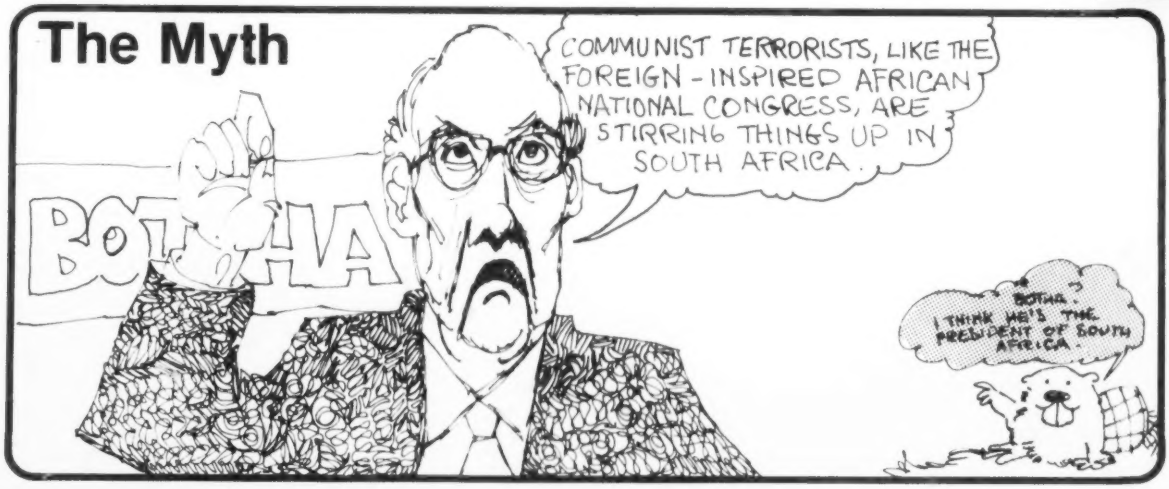
MEDIA CONTROLS MAKE ACCURATE REPORTING DIFFICULT

- ☐ The overall number of foreign media personnel in South Africa is controlled.
- ☐ The white regime encourages reporters filing stories on 'tribal clashes' but discourages coverage of white soldiers attacking unarmed blacks.
- ☐ The police have the power to block media access to areas defined as 'trouble spots'.

The result is plenty of images of black against black violence which Pretoria hopes will shift world attention away from the main struggle — the fight to end apartheid.

This is part of a kit called **South Africa on the Move**. You can purchase a copy from CUSO, ECSA program, 135 Rideau Street, Ottawa, Ontario K1N 9K7

The Myth


COMMUNIST TERRORISTS, LIKE THE FOREIGN-INSPIRED AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, ARE STIRRING THINGS UP IN SOUTH AFRICA.
BOTHA
BOTHA. I THINK HE'S THE PRESIDENT OF SOUTH AFRICA.

The Facts

THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IS THE 'TERRORIST'
IT PROVOKES UNREST AT HOME BY USING ITS ARMY TO BRUTALLY ENFORCE RACIAL SEGREGATION AND SENDS TROOPS ABROAD TO ATTACK NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES.

PEACEFUL ATTEMPTS TO CHANGE APARTHEID HAVE BEEN MET BY GOVERNMENT VIOLENCE

- ☐ The opposition African National Congress (ANC), founded in 1912, spent 50 years trying every legal means to dismantle the apartheid system before being banned and its supporters driven underground.
- ☐ The white minority regime has increasingly entrenched segregation in law and relied on force of arms for compliance.
- ☐ In the 1980's opposition leaders continue to be jailed, tortured and killed, or forced into exile.

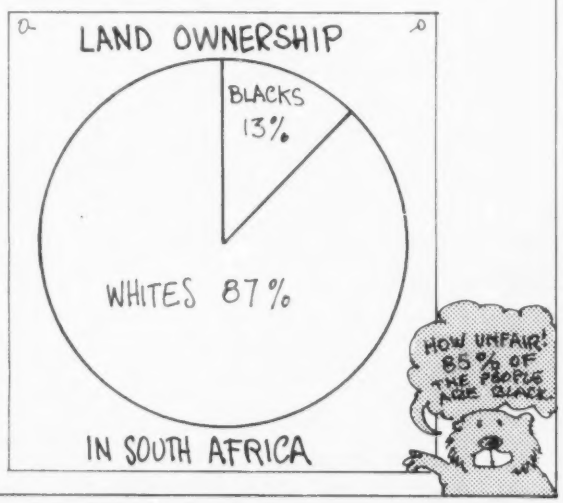
PETER AUF DER HEYDE

BLACKS DON'T NEED 'COMMUNIST TERRORISTS' TO TELL THEM THEY HAVE PROBLEMS

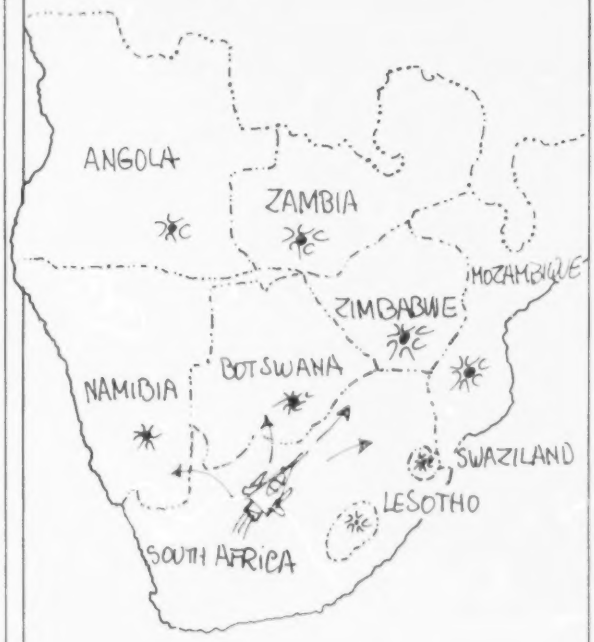
South Africa may be an industrialized nation, yet its apartheid laws have structured every aspect of life so that the whites benefit and the blacks suffer.

- ☐ 75% of the rural black population lives below the poverty line.
- ☐ The government spends ten times more on the education of a white student than it does on a black student.
- ☐ 30,000 black children die from malnutrition related causes each year.
- ☐ 11.4 million blacks have been forced onto bantustans and into slum dwellings, often with no electricity.
- ☐ Black workers get paid 4-6 times less than whites.

And conditions for the black majority are getting **worse** in the 1980's.

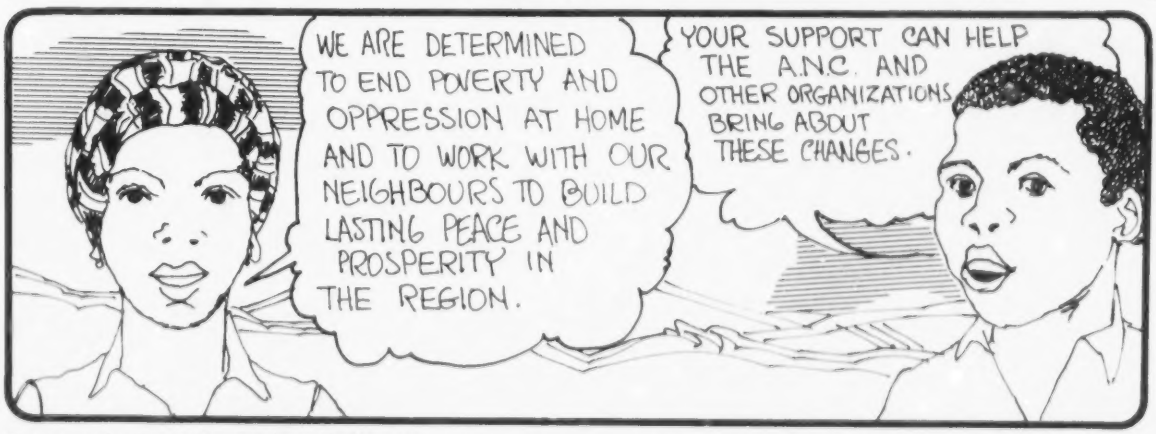


THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TERRORIZES ITS NEIGHBOURS



By air strikes or commando raids, South Africa has in recent years attacked all of its neighbours, both socialist and non-socialist alike.

- ☐ Transport and fuel distribution facilities have been blown up to disrupt the economies.
- ☐ Refugee camps have been bombed and ANC personel targeted in neighbouring countries.
- ☐ Support has been given to rebel forces operating in Angola and Mozambique.
- ☐ Namibia is under illegal South African military occupation.


WE ARE DETERMINED TO END POVERTY AND OPPRESSION AT HOME AND TO WORK WITH OUR NEIGHBOURS TO BUILD LASTING PEACE AND PROSPERITY IN THE REGION.
YOUR SUPPORT CAN HELP THE A.N.C. AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS BRING ABOUT THESE CHANGES.

This is part of a kit called **South Africa on the Move**. You can purchase a copy from CUSO, ECSA program, 135 Rideau Street, Ottawa, Ontario K1N 9K7

The Myth

IT'S A HOPELESS CASE. BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS ARE UP AGAINST IMPOSSIBLE ODDS AND THERE IS NOTHING WE AS CANADIANS CAN DO TO HELP.
MORE BLACKS KILLED IN SOUTH AFRICA
IF EVERYONE TOOK THAT ATTITUDE IT WOULD BE A HOPELESS CASE!

The Facts

THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IS WEAKENING WHILE PEOPLE'S RESISTANCE TO APARTHEID IS GETTING STRONGER AND BETTER ORGANIZED.
AND MANY CANADIANS ARE SUPPORTING OUR EFFORTS TO BUILD A NEW NON RACIAL SOCIETY.

SOUTH AFRICANS ARE ORGANIZING TO END APARTHEID

- ☐ A system of street committees has been set up to deal with everything from garbage collection, to petty crime, to confronting those who collaborate with the racist regime.
- ☐ There has been a tremendous growth in black trade unions, women and youth organizations.
- ☐ Broad-based political organizations such as the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the African National Congress (ANC) are providing the leadership needed both to dismantle apartheid and build a new, non-racial democracy in South Africa.
- ☐ The long history of peaceful struggle by South African blacks has consistently been met with government violence. As a result, many people have taken up arms as the only way left to end apartheid.

IMPACT VISUALS

THE WHITE REGIME IS IN TROUBLE

- ☐ The South African government can only maintain political control through the use of force.
- ☐ The economy is in bad shape:
  - inflation is running at 20%;
  - the Rand declined 31.5% against the US dollar in 1984;
  - foreign disinvestment, bank sanctions and capital flight have caused severe disruptions.
- ☐ Emigration has increased; in the first 9 months of 1985, 8,380 people left the country.
- ☐ The war industry is dependent on foreign inputs and technology, making it vulnerable to international sanctions.
- ☐ The number of conscientious objectors and soldiers defecting increased from 1,700 in 1984 to 8,500 in only the first 9 months of 1985.

Toronto Rally against Apartheid 1986

MARGIE BRUUN-MEYER

CANADA'S POSITION IS IMPORTANT

- ☐ As a Commonwealth member and US neighbour, we could pressure Britain and the United States to take a tougher stand.
- ☐ Canada can show leadership in ending **all** ties with South Africa's white minority regime.
- ☐ Canadian government recognition of the African National Congress (ANC) would set an important precedent for other western nations.

CANADIANS ARE MAKING A DIFFERENCE

- ☐ **Campaign results**
  - cities declared 'apartheid free'
  - universities withdraw investments
  - union pension funds directed elsewhere
  - banks stop new loans to Pretoria
- ☐ **Boycott results**
  - liquor boards refuse South African products
  - stores won't carry apartheid's produce
  - workers won't handle South African goods
- ☐ **Education and Lobbying results**
  - more Canadians aware and active
  - letters and delegations pressure MP's for foreign policy changes

This is part of a kit called **South Africa on the Move**. You can purchase a copy from CUSO, ECSA program, 135 Rideau Street, Ottawa, Ontario K1N 9K7

The Myth

THINGS ARE GETTING BETTER IN SOUTH AFRICA. WE ARE INTRODUCING REFORMS TO CHANGE APARTHEID. JUST GIVE US TIME...
PRESIDENT BOTHA SAYS

The Facts

APARTHEID DOESN'T NEED TO BE REFORMED. IT NEEDS TO BE ABOLISHED!
AND THE WHITE GOVERNMENT'S LIMITED REFORMS ARE COSMETIC. THEY DO NOTHING TO REALLY CHANGE THINGS.

	WHITES	BLACKS
POPULATION (1983) TOTAL 31 MILLION	15%	85%
CONTROL OF LAND (CURRENT %)	87%	13%
OWNERSHIP OF WEALTH (CURRENT %)	90%	10%
ONE MONTHS' WAGES IN THE MINES (1981)	1300 RANDS	220 RANDS
PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION (1980-81)	1010 RANDS	83 RANDS
INFANT MORTALITY PER 1000 LIVE BIRTHS (1974)	18.4	100

SOURCE: APARTHEID THE FACTS / IDAFSA JUNE 1983

REFORMS TINKER WITH APARTHEID

- ☐ Under the 'new' (1984) Constitution:
  - Minority whites retain control.
  - Asian and Coloured people can now vote for a separate but meaningless parliament.
  - Africans (75% of the population) get no vote at all!
  - Power centralized in the new State Security Council reduces the importance of even the white-elected parliament.
- ☐ Blacks can marry whites —
  - but blacks still can't live in white areas.

But the major reform which the South African government points to is the abolition of the pass laws. This reform move by Pretoria replaces overt restrictions on black movement with more subtle methods of control. Let's look at how this is done.

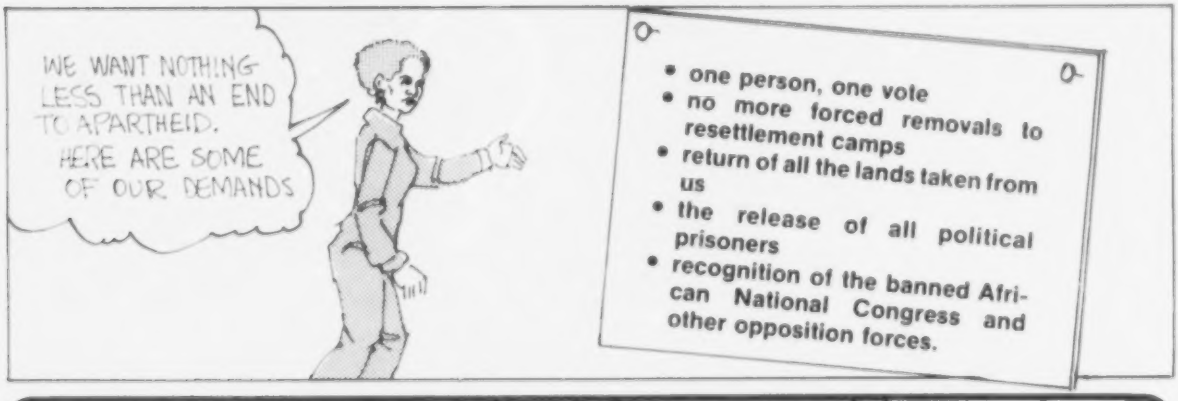
PASS LAWS 'ABOLISHED' WHILE CONTROLS OVER BLACKS TIGHTENED

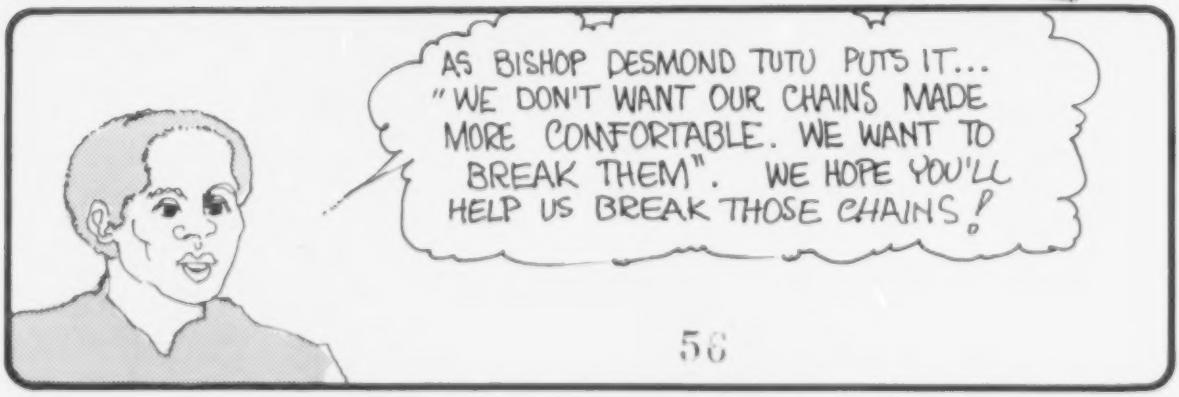
- ☐ The hated pass book black people had to carry is replaced by an identity document for all South Africans. However, it will still mention the race of the holder.
- ☐ Movement by blacks into an urban area will now be restricted by first requiring proof of possession of a government approved house in that area.
- ☐ The Group Areas Act which provides for compulsory residential segregation will be retained.
- ☐ A new, tougher anti-squatting law will now be used to control the movement of the black population.
- ☐ Six million black people in four nominally 'independent homelands' will continue to be subject to the vigorous controls of the Aliens Act.

IDAF

REPRESSION: THE OTHER SIDE OF THE REFORM PACKAGE

- ☐ In addition to helping South Africa's international image, the reforms were meant to produce stability at home and break black resistance.
- ☐ But resistance to apartheid has increased, and so has the repression by white government forces:
  - over 1000 people killed in the fighting in 1985;
  - more than 25,000 political opponents arrested and detained in 1985;
  - increased forced removals of blacks to poor, overcrowded bantustans.


WE WANT NOTHING LESS THAN AN END TO APARTHEID. HERE ARE SOME OF OUR DEMANDS
• one person, one vote
• no more forced removals to resettlement camps
• return of all the lands taken from us
• the release of all political prisoners
• recognition of the banned African National Congress and other opposition forces.


AS BISHOP DESMOND TUTU PUTS IT... "WE DON'T WANT OUR CHAINS MADE MORE COMFORTABLE. WE WANT TO BREAK THEM". WE HOPE YOU'LL HELP US BREAK THOSE CHAINS!

This is part of a kit called **South Africa on the Move**. You can purchase a copy from CUSO, ECSA program, 135 Rideau Street, Ottawa, Ontario K1N 9K7

South Africa Myth Exploder Series

NO. 6

The Myth

WE SHOULDN'T IMPOSE SANCTIONS ON SOUTH AFRICA BECAUSE IN THE END, THE BLACKS WILL SUFFER MOST.
OUR APPROACH OF SELECTIVE SANCTIONS STILL LEAVES BARGAINING CHIPS FOR THE FUTURE.

The Facts

BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS SUPPORT INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SANCTIONS.
WITH SO MANY PEOPLE DYING EACH DAY, NOW IS THE TIME TO BRING MAXIMUM PRESSURE TO BEAR TO END APARTHEID.

BLACK WORKERS ALREADY SUFFER

The economic system in South Africa benefits the white minority at the expense of the black majority.

- ☐ Black unemployment is over 70% on the bantustans and 25% in the rest of the country.
- ☐ Blacks earn on average 4-6 times less than whites and are barred from most skilled jobs.
- ☐ More than a quarter of a million workers are injured each year in industrial accidents.

We believe that all forms of international pressure on the South African government — including disinvestment...is an essential and effective form of pressure on the South African regime and we support it.

...Congress of South African Trade Unions, Nov. 1985

SANCTIONS CAN HELP END APARTHEID

South Africa depends on foreign investment, making the apartheid economy vulnerable to international pressure. For example:

- ☐ Mild western sanctions in 1985 pushed worried bankers to call in Pretoria's debts and refuse new loans.
- ☐ South Africa's financial system teetered, and observers noted that it might have fallen had comprehensive sanctions been invoked.

IMPACT VISUALS

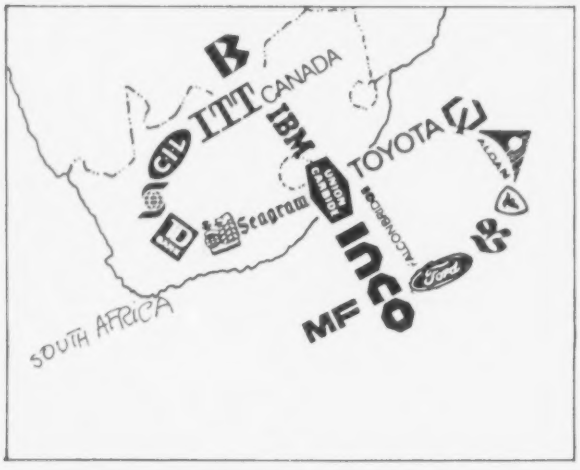
CANADIAN INVESTMENT IN APARTHEID

In 1981 Canadian investment in South Africa was estimated at over one billion dollars. Although Canadian companies operating in South Africa guard information about their operations carefully, it is known that:

- ☐ some have prevented their workers from joining unions and pay a wage well below the poverty line (Bata);
- ☐ others (Massey Ferguson, Ford Canada) have transferred technology to and supplied vehicles for the South African military;
- ☐ still others (Falconbridge, Rio Algom) are profiting from mining operations in Namibia, a country illegally occupied by South Africa;
- ☐ Even in companies claiming to be 'good employers', wages, housing and medical services are organized in accordance with the apartheid system which gives second class status to black people.

SUSAN BAZILLI

This woman is an 'out worker' for Bata in KwaZulu. She earns on average $20 a week for sewing the uppers of shoes.



'BARGAINING' IN WHOSE INTERESTS?

- ☐ For years now western countries have shielded South Africa from calls at the United Nations for mandatory economic sanctions.
- ☐ But western countries **have** used sanctions, as in the recent U.S. move against its small neighbour, Nicaragua.
- ☐ Western nations, including Canada, have major economic interests in South Africa, with the U.S. and Britain her major trading partners.

In not applying sanctions, the West shows more concern for its own economic interests than in the plight of the black population.

FOREIGN INVESTMENT IS JUST PROLONGING THE BLOODSHED IN SOUTH AFRICA.
WE NEED YOUR HELP TO STOP THOSE WHO ARE PROFITING FROM APARTHEID.

This is part of a kit called **South Africa on the Move**. You can purchase a copy from CUSO, ECSA program, 135 Rideau Street, Ottawa, Ontario K1N 9K7

YOUTH

Themba, a black South African student from Soweto, has been invited to speak to high school students at a conference in Victoria, B.C., about the fight against apartheid in his country. The day before the event, Themba has a chance to talk to two Canadian students at one of the high schools over lunch in the cafeteria. Let's listen in on part of their conversation....

I've seen some stuff about South Africa on T.V. — but it seems far away, you know?

It must be really different there...

Yeh. A lot of things are different. Like in my school, **all** the kids are black. **Everything** in South Africa is divided by colour.

That's because of apartheid, right? Where the whites control the government and business and everything...

Right. Even though we outnumber the whites by 5 to 1, apartheid means we won't ever be able to vote or even decide where we want to live. There's a whole bunch of laws that make sure the white government stays in power and that **we** get a rotten education.

How do they do that? If there's more of you, why don't you just take over?

The problem is they have the army and the police — and they sure use them too. That's the only way they stay in power — by force.

So what's your school like, Themba — I mean, compared to a **white** South African high school.

Well, the white school would be like yours — only maybe nicer, with lots of equipment. Mine is awful — overcrowded, no labs, a terrible library, hardly any textbooks or gym equipment — and in lots of subjects, there's no teachers.

I wouldn't mind that!

I'll bet you would Jamie...Sitting around in the class with nothing to do gets boring after awhile!

So are you going on to university, Themba?

Probably not. Very few blacks ever make it that far. Most of my friends didn't even make it past primary school.

You live in Soweto, right? What's your house like?

Not nearly as nice as yours, that's for sure. We don't have running water — or any electricity. I do my homework by candlelight. But most white South Africans live in luxury — in houses nicer than many I've seen here.

How come you don't really hate white people? I think I would if I were you!

Well there are white people on our side too, you know. Some white students have an organization called NUSAS — that's the National Union of South African Students — and they're fighting the system of apartheid along with us.

You know, I said before that I thought everything was different here from South Africa. But we **do** have racism in Canada too.

What **is** it like being black in Canada, Kathy?

Well, it's not like South Africa — but sometimes it can be pretty hard. Like when my family went looking for an apartment. It was empty when we called — and then when we got there, the guy said he'd rented it. So we called again when we got home — and it was still available of course. But not to black people!

You know, adults here sometimes think teenagers don't ever worry about the future. But I do — like right now I'm worrying about getting a job when I get out of school. Unemployment is really high in Canada, and they don't seem to be doing much about it either.

I know what you mean. I'm worried about getting a job too — there's a lot of black kids at home out of work. Most of us don't see **any** future under apartheid.

I know I worry about the future too. I'm terrified that the world is going to be blown away by a nuclear war. That's why I got involved in the peace movement.

Well, at least we're all trying to **do** something about the future. In South Africa, students really are playing an important role in the fight against apartheid.

You know, I **have** seen a lot of kids our age in the demonstrations and fighting in South Africa that they show on T.V.

For me it began in 1976 in Soweto when my older brother was killed. The students were protesting against being educated in Afrikaans, the white man's language. It was awful — the police shot to death almost 1,000 unarmed students.

What did the rest of the students do? I think I would have made a run for it.

After Soweto a lot of students **did** leave the country — over 10,000 of them. Many decided the only way left was to learn how to use a gun, so they joined the armed wing of the African National Congress. That's the liberation movement leading our struggle.

The rest of us who stayed formed organizations like COSAS — the Congress of South African Students that I belong to. It represents high school students.

What kinds of things are students doing to fight apartheid? Have you had demonstrations or what?

We do have protest marches — but there's other things too. Like all the student groups joined a major coalition against apartheid called the United Democratic Front. We've helped organize work 'stay aways' and boycotts of white stores with the trade unions and community groups.

And we've boycotted the high schools too — demanding changes that we wrote up in an Education Charter. Look, I've written down some of our demands here:

- ☐ **More student say in the running of the schools.**
- ☐ **Free education and textbooks.**
- ☐ **An end to the beating and sexual harassment of students.**
- ☐ **And the police out of the schools and the black townships.**

But what did your parents have to say about all this, Themba? I think mine would have a fit!

Well, at first our parents were scared because of the police, and they'd yell at us to get off the streets during the protests. But then they started to help us.

What would the police do?

You mean besides shooting at us? Well they banned COSAS and arrested hundreds of our student leaders. I have friends who are still political prisoners and I know kids our age who've been tortured and killed.

Doesn't that make you scared to keep fighting?

Well, we don't think we have a lot to lose. It's give up or fight — and we know there's no future for us under apartheid.

So when you get rid of apartheid, what kind of schools do you want to have?

I hope they'll be like the school the ANC already has for refugee kids in Tanzania. It's called the Solomon Mahlango Freedom College — or SOMAFCO and it has day care through to high school.

So what's different about that school?

Lots of things. But I guess the most important to me is that it's democratic and non-racial. I met someone from there who told me that the students are really involved in making school policy — they work out with the teachers how things will be run.

We have a class now Themba — but I'll be at that conference you're speaking to on Saturday.

And who knows, I might even go too!

Hey Jamie, how about we talk to kids here first to see how our school could support students in South Africa. We'll let you know what happens Themba.

CREATING YOUR OWN DIALOGUE

In your dialogue, imagine that Kathy and Jamie are from your class.

Option one:
Kathy and Jamie are reporting back to your class on their discussion with Themba. The class asks any questions they have and then discusses ideas to help support South African students in their fight against apartheid.

Option two:
Write the end of the dialogue. Kathy and Jamie talk to Themba on Saturday about the discussion in class and the plan you came up with to help support South African students in their fight against apartheid.

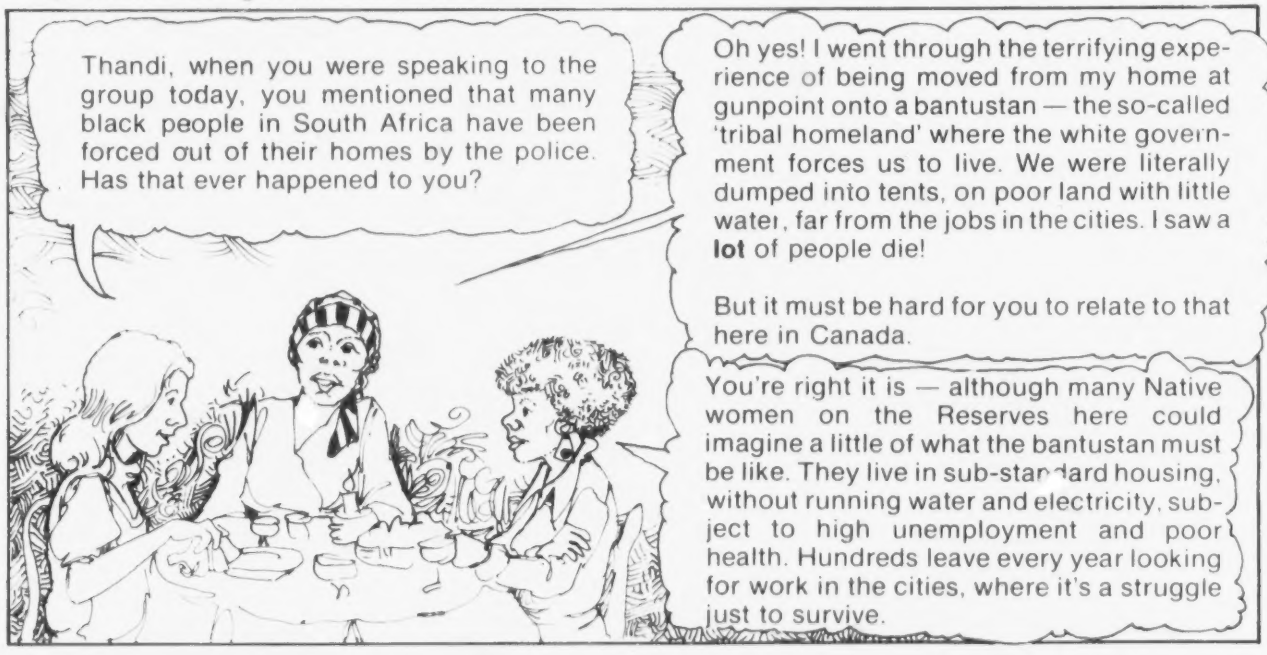
Here's a list of things other high school students have done that you might want to consider — but add ideas of your own too.

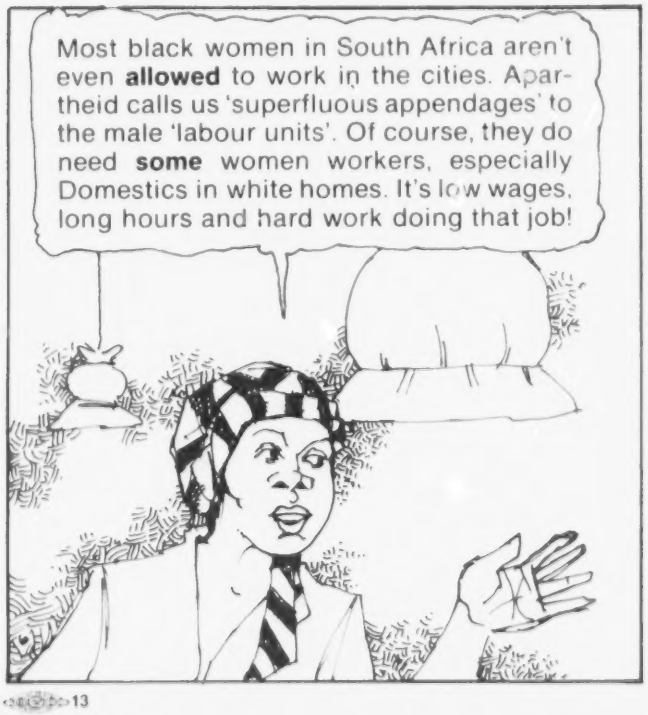
- ☐ Educate other students about the situation in South Africa: organize a conference or a special assembly, write a play, show a film, have a photo display.
- ☐ Write the government to tell them that you want stronger sanctions against South Africa and get others to write too.
- ☐ Boycott Canadian companies who are making a profit from apartheid.
- ☐ Get South African products out of your school or community. Get your Board of Education to refuse to buy South African products for the cafeteria.
- ☐ Organize a 'Students Against Apartheid' group in your school.
- ☐

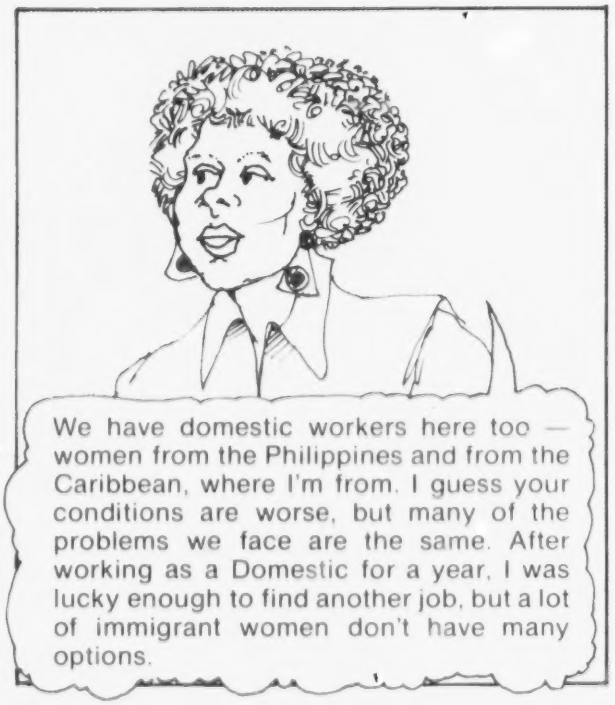
This is from a kit called **South Africa on the Move**, available from CUSO, ECSA desk, 135 Rideau St., Ottawa, Ont. K1N 9K7.

WOMEN

Thandi, a black leader in the South African women's movement, has been invited to speak at an International Women's Day event in Toronto, Ontario. During her stay, Thandi goes to dinner with two of the event's organizers, Anne and Marlene. Let's listen in as they talk about the problems facing women in both countries....

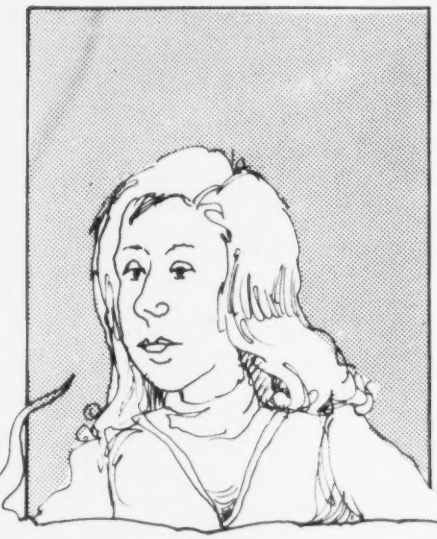

Thandi, when you were speaking to the group today, you mentioned that many black people in South Africa have been forced out of their homes by the police. Has that ever happened to you?
Oh yes! I went through the terrifying experience of being moved from my home at gunpoint onto a bantustan — the so-called 'tribal homeland' where the white government forces us to live. We were literally dumped into tents, on poor land with little water, far from the jobs in the cities. I saw a **lot** of people die!
But it must be hard for you to relate to that here in Canada.
You're right it is — although many Native women on the Reserves here could imagine a little of what the bantustan must be like. They live in sub-standard housing, without running water and electricity, subject to high unemployment and poor health. Hundreds leave every year looking for work in the cities, where it's a struggle just to survive.


Most black women in South Africa aren't even **allowed** to work in the cities. Apartheid calls us 'superfluous appendages' to the male 'labour units'. Of course, they do need **some** women workers, especially Domestics in white homes. It's low wages, long hours and hard work doing that job!


We have domestic workers here too — women from the Philippines and from the Caribbean, where I'm from. I guess your conditions are worse, but many of the problems we face are the same. After working as a Domestic for a year, I was lucky enough to find another job, but a lot of immigrant women don't have many options.

What other work is open to black women in South Africa, Thandi?

Well, a few of us get jobs in food and textile factories, and as farm labourers. Now **that's** hard work — for next to no money. In some places, the white farmers only pay you in produce — say tomatoes.



And what about the factory workers? Here women get paid less than men and get the unskilled jobs. And of course, then we have to put up with sexual harassment on the job.

And do a double day when we get home!

We share all those problems. Then you add on the fact that under apartheid both black men and women earn a lot less than whites ... so we're oppressed as workers, as women and as blacks.

And what about women within the family? Here we're questioning our traditional role and women are trying out alternatives. Just look at us... I'm working again after staying at home with my kids — and Marlene is a single parent.

You know, it struck me today that the family is a different issue for you than it is for us in South Africa. I think it's because apartheid has **forced** black family members to live apart. In my own case, my father was a mineworker. He had to live on a compound at the mine, so we rarely saw him. Today in South Africa we're fighing to have the **right** to family life.

When you started getting involved in the women's movement, Thandi, did you have any problems with your husband? I know I sure did.

Oh yes, I did too. I got involved in women's issues through my union. My husband used to object if I went to meetings at night. He didn't think he should have to cook and look after the children! At first I'd go to those meetings and not say anything — partly because I was afraid. But also because I knew that the men there wouldn't take me seriously. And now look at me — representing South African women in another country!

Thandi, this changes the subject a bit, but I've been wanting to ask how you see the possibility of working with white women in South Africa?

You can't imagine the pampered life style of most white women in my country, Anne. And their wealth is built on the exploitation of blacks, so we really have little in common. But there **are** a few white women who have joined in the struggle to end apartheid.

Well that's encouraging. More white women in Canada need to confront racism too — right here at home.

It sure needs to be confronted! If you lived here Thandi, racism would still be part of your life. I meet it every day — at work, at the neighbourhood store, in my kids' school.

So fighting racism is a struggle we have in common.

Are there any other areas of our work that seem similar to yours — now that you've had a chance to meet a few groups here this week Thandi?

Yes there are. We've focused on issues like child care and high food prices — or more specific campaigns like the one against Depo Provero. And like you we have both local and national organizations trying to address these issues.

But we've also been involved in the broader struggle to end apartheid.

Well, we know you've produced great leaders. Winnie Mandela of the African National Congress has been on television here and was very impressive.

We **have** produced great leaders — and at different levels. Many of them are the backbone of community organizations. And women also helped form the UDF — the United Democratic Front. That's a coalition of 600 organizations who oppose apartheid. Some of us are also joining the armed wing of the ANC, forced to take up arms because the white government continually reacts to all other kinds of protest with violence.

The more we hear about apartheid, the more we understand why it has to be abolished. How can we help you do that?

Well, you could talk to other women about our situation and support our women's organizations. And you could join Canadian solidarity groups, churches, unions and non-governmental agencies in their boycott of South African products.

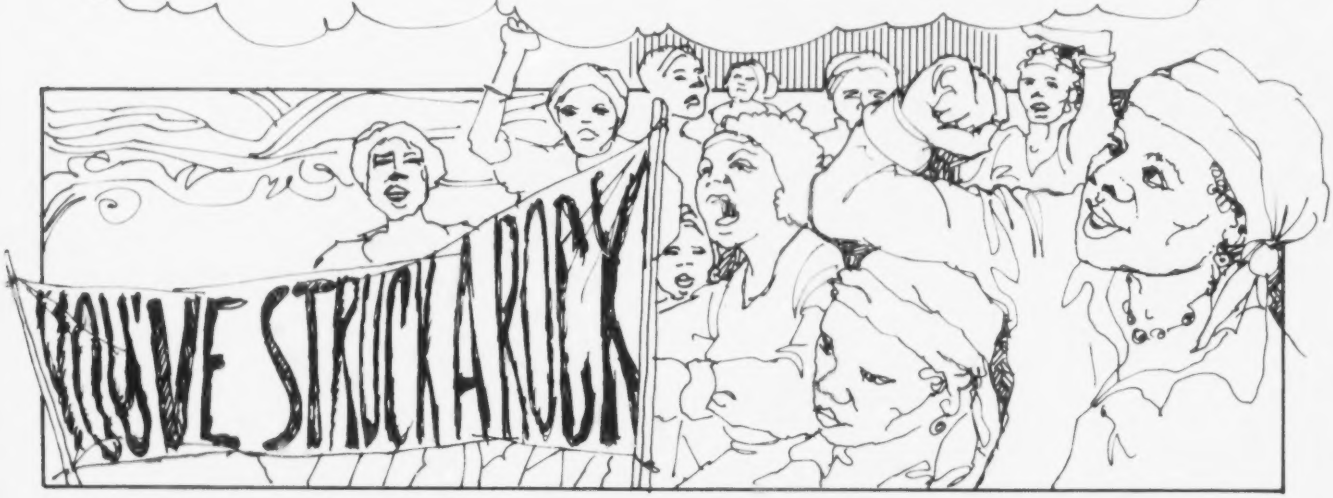
Or you could pressure your government to end all ties with the apartheid regime and recognize the African National Congress as our legitimate representative.

As a first step we should find out what others in the community are already doing so we can support and strengthen local actions.

Well, Thandi, after hearing what you have to say, I'm sure women here **will** take action — and we women can be a very strong force, right?

Right! And that reminds me of a story I want to tell you before we go about woman-power in South Africa. Back on August 9, 1956, 20,000 of us marched on the Prime Minister's office to protest the pass laws.

And someone said: "Now you have touched the women, you have struck a rock! You have dislodged a boulder! You will be crushed!" You know that person was right! We still celebrate August 9 as Women's Day in South Africa. We're still marching, too, and with your support, apartheid **will** be crushed.



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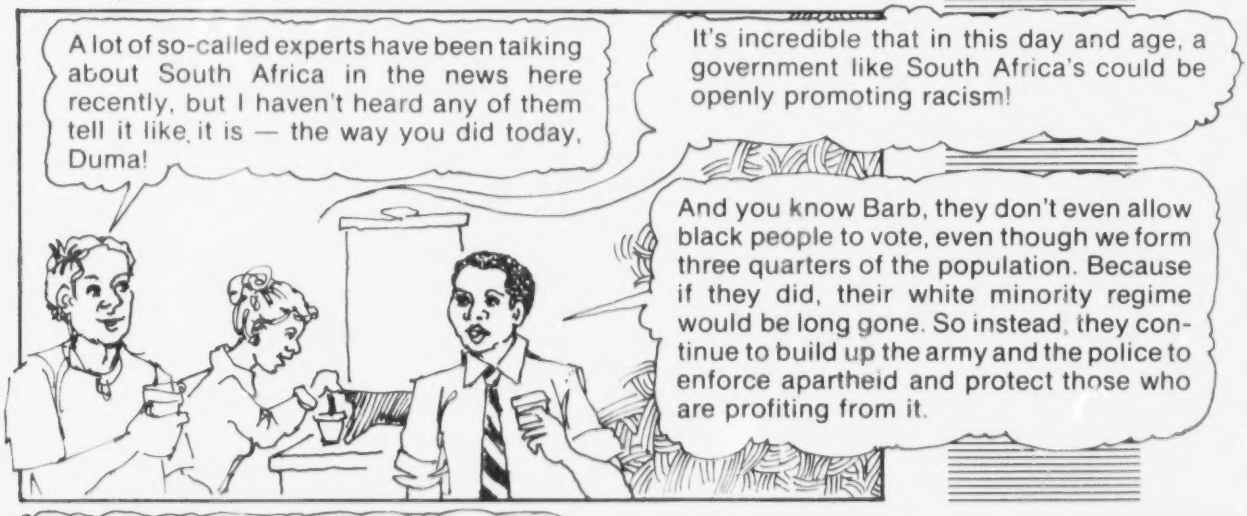
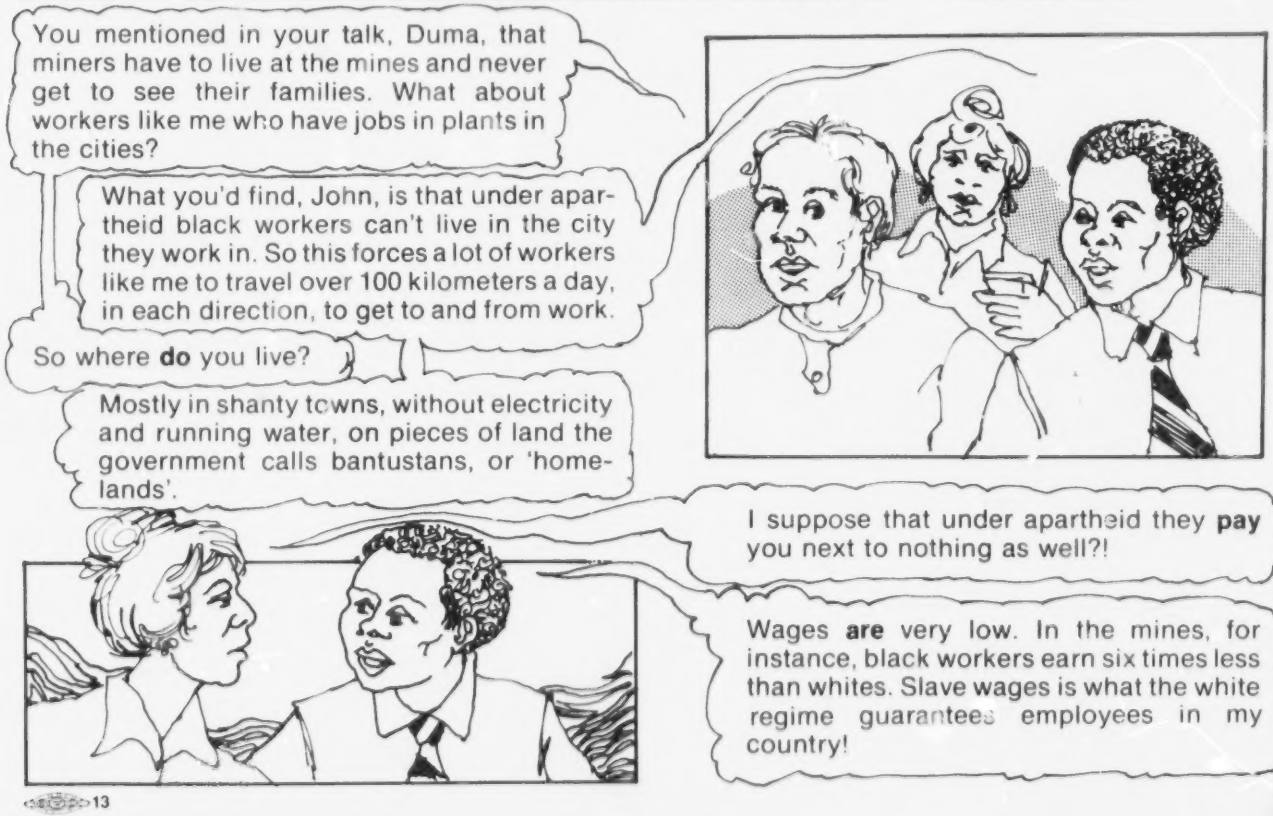
TRADE UNIONS

Duma, a South African trade unionist has just spoken to the annual Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) convention. He brought greetings from the 500,000 members of COSATU, the newly formed Congress of South African Trade Unions. He also talked about the terrible oppression of black people in his country. John, a CLC delegate from Halifax, and Barbara, a shop steward from Winnipeg, introduce themselves to Duma during the coffee break. Let's listen in on part of their conversation....


A lot of so-called experts have been talking about South Africa in the news here recently, but I haven't heard any of them tell it like it is — the way you did today, Duma!
It's incredible that in this day and age, a government like South Africa's could be openly promoting racism!
And you know Barb, they don't even allow black people to vote, even though we form three quarters of the population. Because if they did, their white minority regime would be long gone. So instead, they continue to build up the army and the police to enforce apartheid and protect those who are profiting from it.


You mentioned in your talk, Duma, that miners have to live at the mines and never get to see their families. What about workers like me who have jobs in plants in the cities?
What you'd find, John, is that under apartheid black workers can't live in the city they work in. So this forces a lot of workers like me to travel over 100 kilometers a day, in each direction, to get to and from work.
So where **do** you live?
Mostly in shanty towns, without electricity and running water, on pieces of land the government calls bantustans, or 'homelands'.
I suppose that under apartheid they **pay** you next to nothing as well?!
Wages **are** very low. In the mines, for instance, black workers earn six times less than whites. Slave wages is what the white regime guarantees employees in my country!

13

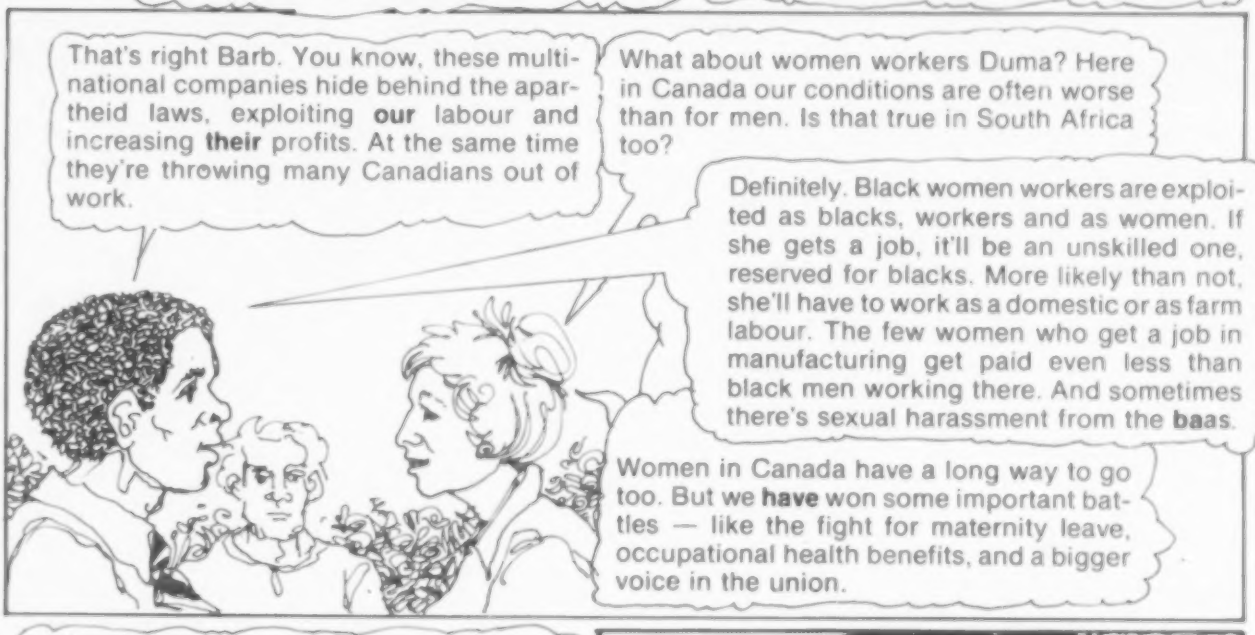
Which reminds me, Duma, in your talk you mentioned that some multinational companies have taken advantage of the cheap labour in South Africa and have moved their operations there. It made me remember what happened at SKF in Toronto.

What was that, John?

SKF was a ball bearing plant which closed down in 1981, putting 320 workers out on the street. I heard they'd moved to South Africa.

It wouldn't surprise me at all since they'd only have to pay a black machine operator a fraction of what the Toronto workers would have been getting.

Same story out west. B.C. pulp and paper workers found out that South Africa is moving into Canadian pulp markets. And why? Because a bale of pulp is produced here for $14 an hour. But they say that to produce the same bale in South Africa, black workers only get paid $1 an hour!



That's right Barb. You know, these multinational companies hide behind the apartheid laws, exploiting **our** labour and increasing **their** profits. At the same time they're throwing many Canadians out of work.

What about women workers Duma? Here in Canada our conditions are often worse than for men. Is that true in South Africa too?

Definitely. Black women workers are exploited as blacks, workers and as women. If she gets a job, it'll be an unskilled one, reserved for blacks. More likely than not, she'll have to work as a domestic or as farm labour. The few women who get a job in manufacturing get paid even less than black men working there. And sometimes there's sexual harassment from the **baas**.

Women in Canada have a long way to go too. But we **have** won some important battles — like the fight for maternity leave, occupational health benefits, and a bigger voice in the union.

That's true at home too. In 1983, the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union forced the largest retail chain to sign our country's first maternity benefits agreement. But like you say, there's still a long way to go.

What about health and safety Duma? It's a struggle to get companies to move on these issues in Canada because it isn't profitable. You must face the same problem.

We sure do John. 250,000 workers were injured on the job in South Africa last year. And health and safety inspectors are a rare breed in our country. In mining, which has a terrible record for disasters, and where many miners have lung diseases, there is only one inspector for the whole country!

But I can imagine that 'health and safety' means something different when your life is in danger for even speaking out against racism...

That's true. A lot of trade unionists have died, especially in the 1960's and '70's at the hands of this white minority regime. Our organizations were attacked, our leaders driven underground or into exile. But we keep fighting back! Now in the '80's, workers organizations are stronger than ever.

And the trade union alliance you represent is a good example of that too.

It's been a long struggle but we're proud of the fact that COSATU is the largest trade union grouping ever formed in South Africa. We represent half a million workers in a lot of different industries.

Many of us have also heard of SACTU, the South African Congress of Trade Unions. How do SACTU and COSATU relate?

We're in the same struggle together. SACTU has a longer history and took the brunt of the repression in the 1960's and '70's. They've continued to organize underground in South Africa and have also helped build international trade union solidarity for our workers' movement. COSATU on the other hand was only formed in 1985, but is leading the above ground struggle for workers rights and political change in South Africa.

You know, Duma, I've been thinking that given what you're up against in South Africa, the nature of your struggle is somewhat different from ours.

Yes, I think it is. The best interests of South African workers are served by ousting the current regime and its system of apartheid. So COSATU is actively working with community, youth and political organizations to end the racial injustice in our country.

And how does COSATU relate to the African National Congress? I know it's been banned inside South Africa, but I understand that the ANC heads the political opposition to apartheid.

That's right Barb, it does. Both COSATU and SACTU have acknowledged the leading role played by the ANC in our struggle — both to liberate South Africa and to build a new, non-racial democracy.

So what can Canadian workers do to support you in your struggle Duma?

Well, let me show you our political platform and then you decide what actions you can take.

- ☐ support to disinvestment campaigns. (getting foreign business out of South Africa)
- ☐ the withdrawal of the army from the black townships.
- ☐ the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners.
- ☐ the repeal of orders banning individuals and organizations.
- ☐ the dismantling of the bantustans.
- ☐ an end to the migrant labour system.

Following the CLC convention, Barb and John reported back to their unions. Members of both locals discuss actions they could take to support South African workers in their struggle against apartheid....

The CLC has an education campaign on South Africa. Let's find out more about it.

Other locals have invited SACTU solidarity people in to talk. We could do the same.

How about a resolution at the next convention?

We could add our local's voice to those lobbying for sanctions against South Africa.

We should get our pension fund checked — like the CAW did — to make sure our money isn't being invested in apartheid.

I heard that OPSEU got all South African goods out of hospitals. Maybe we should check our workplace and make sure we're not handling South African goods.....

Our local could .....

and .....

This is from a kit called **South Africa on the Move**, available from CUSO, ECSA desk, 135 Rideau St., Ottawa, Ont. K1N 9K7.

THE CHURCH

Ben, a black South African church delegate visiting Canada, talks with two Canadian church members, Eileen and Norm, at the coffee break, before resuming a session on 'Christians and Apartheid.'

I very much appreciated your talk, Ben. You know, we see bits and pieces about South Africa on T.V. but it **is** hard to get a sense of something so far away.

This kind of personal encounter is so important.

Yes. It's one thing to **talk** about partnership. It's quite another to meet face to face. This has been an opportunity for me to hear about the kinds of justice issues you're involved in here — unemployment and racism for example.

I was thinking about that Eileen when you talked about apartheid seeming so far away. There are lots of parallels here, and a lot of racism. It's not as though we can sit back all complacent and say it's someone else's problem.

I know. We just have to look within our own church structures to see who is **not** there to know that racism exists in Canada too. I suppose that makes us rather hypocritical.

That's a dilemma for us too. Even churches that are **officially** multi-racial are in practice mostly **uni-racial**. One reason, of course, is that the Group Areas Act insists that every town and village be divided into separate sections for each racial group. But it does show our failure to put our faith into practice.

Well, at least here in Canada we don't have the same legal restrictions to contend with.

And it **is** different to have racism legally supported by the state. Apartheid isn't just a random or exaggerated form of racism. It's a whole system that has been deliberately constructed and must be just as deliberately dismantled.

That raises another question for me. In your talk you said something about apartheid being a heresy. That made me a bit uncomfortable — like calling people heretics is saying they're not part of **our** club.

Well, **that** may not be such a bad thing. To call something a heresy is to say it is in fundamental opposition to our faith as Christians. It's to say you can't believe in racial superiority and inferiority and at the same time believe that we're all created in God's image. It's a contradiction.

But why heresy? Why not just say that apartheid is wrong?

It's important to understand apartheid as a belief system. The white Dutch Reform churches created a set of doctrines that justified apartheid, which the National Party used as the reason for strengthening the apartheid system. Remember, South Africa thinks of itself as a Christian country. So calling apartheid a heresy kicks away their theological foundation. It says, 'no, that is not what Christians believe!'

What about the position of the other churches?

Well other denominations never went so far as to say that apartheid is the will of God. Although they did go along with a lot of the apartheid laws, the ones affecting church education for example.

I know that now the churches in South Africa have been speaking out against apartheid. What else have you been doing?

Well, we've encouraged and supported the popular campaigns — things like the work stayaways and consumer boycotts. We also speak out through our own specifically church activities — such as funerals and Sunday services. We do try not to duplicate efforts and work closely with the popular groups.

Of course, when I talk about 'church' here you must understand that the South African church is not yet one unified body!

That's true here as well. Not every church member thinks we should be concerned with so called 'politics'. Some haven't thought about it much. Others out and out oppose us getting involved.

Is there much dissent within the church over its support for the African National Congress? I was quite surprised when you said that the first three ANC presidents were all clergy. Isn't that seen as a contradiction, as condoning violence in a way?

Certainly we don't condone violence. You know the ANC worked non-violently for almost 50 years against the unjust laws. But time and time again it was met with violent response and brutal repression. It was ony after people felt that all non-violent means of change had been closed to them that a wing of the movement began to make preparations for armed struggle. And even then, all sorts of other work continued — health and education programs, as well as other forms of protest.

I must admit I find the question of violence a very difficult one. As Christians we believe in the value of human life. And I myself have never been in the position where I have to make that kind of choice.

It **is** difficult. Sometimes I ask people to imagine their response if someone pulled a gun on their own child. Suppose you respond non-violently the first time, and maybe even the second and third. What do you after three of your children are dead?

One thing I know, I'd do whatever I thought would protect my kids! And I also feel very strongly that if we're going to be concerned with this issue, we have to respect the choices of people who are there. If someone says to me "this is the only option left to us", I have to respect that.

I honestly don't know how I would respond — I've always been an advocate of non-violent change. But I agree with you, we do have to support the people who are struggling for liberation.

I can't help but be a bit suspicious when I hear people talking about non-violence. Not you so much Norm, because I know you've always been a pacifist. But a lot of people in the church who quite readily justified use of force against Hitler and the Nazis suddenly start talking about non-violence when it comes to South Africa. I wonder if their response would be different if whites were on the bottom of the heap?

It's also important to remember that it wasn't the ANC or other liberation groups that **created** the violence. The violence of apartheid kills people every day. It is the violence of malnutrition, inadequate health care and lack of education. And the violence of the police and the military. People will not sit back and watch their children die. All of us abhor violence, but it will continue until the system is changed.

We should put our money where our mouth is. If we really want peaceful change, and if we really **do** support non-violence, we should be doing whatever we can to end apartheid. We haven't exactly been quick off the mark in responding to requests for sanctions and disinvestment.

Even sanctions can be a difficult and controversial issue. We are always getting the argument that we shouldn't discount the minority opinion. You know, that the Gospel is a message of reconciliation and that includes heads of corporations and banks.

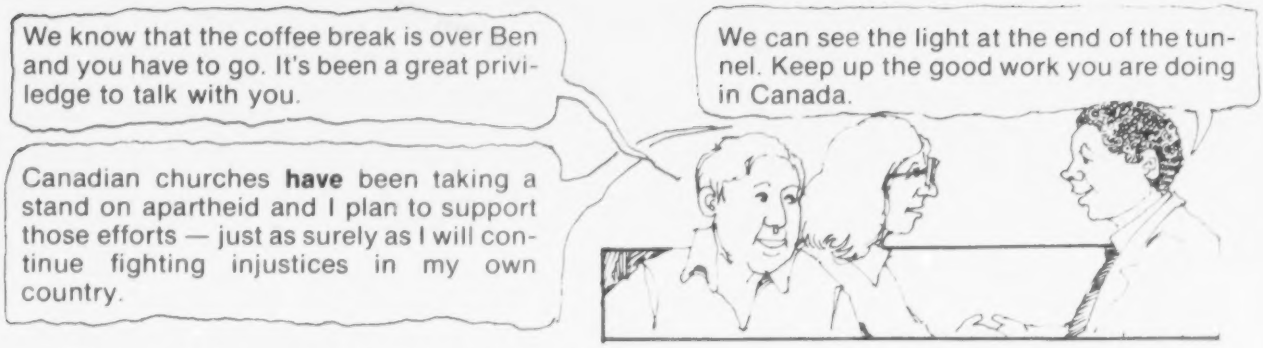
We hear that too. That we should be reconciling, not taking sides. We respond by saying that we simply can't reconcile good and evil. We must work to change the evil.

That's how we feel. As South African Christians we have chosen to take a stand because it simply isn't possible for us to remain neutral. To do nothing is to opt for the status quo, which excludes the majority of the people! Jesus told us to forgive our enemies, but he didn't mean we should accept evil systems or structures. His whole life ministry was a challenge to the powers of his day.

It's true. Racism is by its nature divisive. So you can't **reconcile** a racist person or system. They have to change.

Throwing the merchants out of the temple wasn't exactly remaining neutral!

In South Africa we have chosen to resist, and to work towards **real** reconciliation — a non-racial, democratic society which has room for all of us, regardless of the colour of our skin.


We know that the coffee break is over Ben and you have to go. It's been a great priviledge to talk with you.
Canadian churches **have** been taking a stand on apartheid and I plan to support those efforts — just as surely as I will continue fighting injustices in my own country.
We can see the light at the end of the tunnel. Keep up the good work you are doing in Canada.

Eileen and Norm return to their own church to report on what they have learned at the meeting about South Africa. Ben has given them a copy of the ***Harare Declaration*** *signed in 1985 by church leaders from South Africa asking Christians to take action in support of their struggle against apartheid. The congregation discusses what their church can do. Here are the notes from that discussion...*

What can we do

- ☐ **educate and involve our own congregation**
- ☐ **find out what our church is already doing**
- ☐ **pressure the government for mandatory sanctions and recognition of the ANC**
- ☐ **boycott South African products**
- ☐ **disinvestment campaign**
- ☐ **support ecumenical groups like the South Africa Working Group of the Interchurch Coalition on Africa**

The **Harare Declaration** asks us to:

- ☐ **Prevent the extension, rolling over or renewal of bank loans to the South African government, banks, corporations and parastatal institutions.**
- ☐ **Support the South African movements working for the liberation of their country.**
- ☐ **Apply immediate and comprehensive sanctions on South Africa.**

SUGGESTIONS FOR CREATING YOUR OWN DIALOGUES

Imagine that you have just made a presentation to a group in your own parish or congregation about South Africa. You are encouraging this group to get involved and take action.

Option one:
Someone in the group asks you why we as Christians should get involved in politics. What is the relationship between our faith and these kinds of issues. You respond, and the group discusses this question...

(You might want to refer to Chapter 4 of the **Kairos Document**, written by Christians in South Africa and available from the World Council of Churches)

Option two:
Someone in the group challenges you on the Canadian churches' support for the ANC. Isn't that supporting violence and terrorism? You respond, and discuss this issue with the group...

(You might want to refer to Chapter 3 of the **Kairos Document** — the section on 'Non-Violence'. You might also consider mentioning the acts of aggression by South Africa against its own citizens and neighbours; the policy and theology of your church concerning 'Just War' and use of force; the **kind** of humanitarian assistance being given to the ANC by the Canadian churches, and the reasons for that support...)

Option three:
Someone in the group asks you what kind of things this congregation or parish can do. You get into a discussion of what options and possibilities there are, what kind of opposition you'll meet, and how you can begin to plan for getting this started.

(You might consider the excerpts from the **Harare Declaration**, Chapter 5 of the **Kairos Document**, and the ideas listed earlier for church action. Don't forget to begin with what your church is already doing at the national level — and be sure to add specific actions relevant to your local situation.

This is from a kit called **South Africa on the Move**, available from CUSO, ECSA desk, 135 Rideau St., Ottawa, Ont. K1N 9K7

APARTHEID

and the FREEDOM CHARTER

INTRODUCTION

'South African Turmoil', 'Black Unrest Growing' read newspaper headlines which have caught world attention. Angry faces and violent scenes on the nightly T.V. news have alerted many Canadians to a growing crisis in South Africa. What is going on? Who's involved? And what do the contending factions want? What follows is an exploration into some of the causes of the unrest. As we do this we will also be comparing apartheid's policies with the dream of a non-racial and democratic South Africa, embodied in the **Freedom Charter**.

We'll be looking at a number of areas:

- population
- the political system
- the land
- the economic system
- labour
- education
- health
- human rights
- regional relations
- the path to liberation

But first, let's briefly look back a little at the history of apartheid — and at the development of the **Freedom Charter**.

GOLD AND WORKERS

77

GOLD AND WORKERS

APARTHEID: A BRIEF HISTORY

ROOTS IN COLONIALISM

The term 'apartheid' (separateness) was coined by the National Party in South Africa upon coming to power in 1948. This party presented its policies in the form of a comprehensive doctrine which asserted the supremacy of the white minority over the black majority. However, the roots of the segregationist doctrine of apartheid date back to the arrival of the white settlers in South Africa in the mid-17th century. During the next 250 years, the Africans, who were the original inhabitants, fought hard to prevent the Europeans from taking their land. However, by the beginning of this century, white colonizers, settlers and mining companies, relying on superior firepower, had thrown the African people off their lands, reducing them to a life of misery and servitude.

CONSOLIDATION OF WHITE CONTROL

The Anglo-Boer war between 1899-1902 pitted the British, who ruled in two territories, against the Afrikaaner settlers, who controlled two others. The British won, and in 1910, these four territories were joined together in the Union of South Africa. That same year, the British handed over the administration of the nation to the local white population. During the next three decades, a legal system guaranteeing white priviledge and pre-eminence was forged. The Mine and Works Act passed in 1911, imposed a 'colour bar' in the mines. Skilled jobs were reserved for whites only. Strikes by Blacks were made a crime. The Land Act of 1913 divided the land up between black people and whites. This Act 'reserved' less than 10% of the total area of the country for black ownership. White commercial farmers got more land to use and more labour.

GOLD AND WORKERS

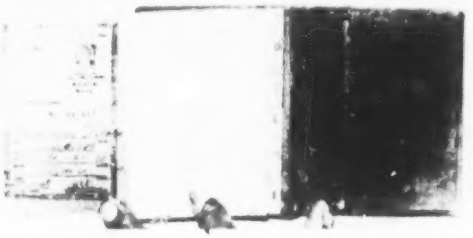
78

Everybody who now lived on 'white' lands had to work for the new owners or move on In 1936 the 'Native Trust and Land Act' increased land set aside for Africans to 13%, fixing 'once and for all' the distribution of land. This 'increase' was presented as compensation for eliminating the parliamentary voting rights of the African population!

THE NATIONAL PARTY GOES FURTHER

In 1948 the National Party won the whites-only elections. Based on the 'christian' tenets of the Dutch Reform Church of racial separation, and in alliance with business leaders, the National Party set about further institutionalizing racial segregation and domination under the doctrine of apartheid. The Group Areas Act, passed in 1950, defined by race where people could live.

The Bantu Authorities Act incorporated into the 'reserves', (which had been established by the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936), a political system of tribal authority by government appointment. The white regime thus tried to retribalize the Africans by forcing them to live on bantustans or 'homelands' while maintaining effective control through compliant chiefs. Free movement of black people in South Africa was further controlled by the requirement that every African over 16 years of age carry a reference or 'pass' book with them at all times or be liable for immediate arrest.



IDAF

THE 1950's AND 1960's

The African National Congress (ANC) after 40 years of constitutional protest began to adopt Gandhian methods of mass, non-violent resistance to apartheid. Paid up ANC membership grew to over 100,000 and in this period it joined with other democratic opposition organizations to form the Congress Alliance. In 1955 the Alliance organized the most representative gathering ever of South African people. They adopted the **Freedom Charter**, a vision of a future non-racial, democratic South Africa. In that same year, the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) was formed, representing a new kind of political trade unionism, linking the struggle for higher wages and improved working conditions, to the struggle for political rights and liberation. By 1960 it had 19 affiliated unions with 54,000 members.

The mass non-violent campaigns of the 1950's met with strong state repression. This culminated in the Sharpeville massacre of 1960 and the banning of the ANC. Now outlawed, with its leaders and membership imprisoned in their thousands, the ANC was forced to 'submit or fight'. Choosing to fight, the ANC set up an armed wing, mKhonto we Sizwe (MK) in 1961, and began a series of sabotage attacks. However, the underground structures of resistance received some heavy blows during the 1960's and the liberation movement was defeated and forced into exile. Only in the 1970's did a real resurgence begin.

IDAF

UNITY IN ACTION

THE 1970's: POLITICAL AWAKENING

Resistance politics of the 1970's was dominated by two clear and largely separate trends: — the black consciousness movement and the new democratic trade unions. For the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), based mainly on students and intellectuals, only blacks could liberate blacks and all whites were excluded from 'black' activities. The BCM played the leading role in the Soweto rebellion in 1976, which was brutally crushed by the white authorities, with hundreds of black students shot to death. Soweto revealed the limitations of the BCM strategy in not forging a wider organizational base in the community and among black workers.

Meanwhile, black workers were slowly beginning to re-organize themselves. By 1975 the new unions had 20,000 members. Until the end of the 1970's, local struggles around wages and working conditions were linked to the (then) major political demand of the new unions — the right to organize.

The growth in active opposition at home led to the banning of all black consciousness movement organizations in 1977. This, combined with the defeat of the South African army in its first invasion of Angola in 1975-76 and a deep economic recession, provoked a paralysis in the ruling National Party. In 1978 the party finally brought to power P.W. Botha to lead a government built on an alliance between big business and the military. Botha and his allies recognized the need to modernize apartheid if the basic structure of white economic and political power was to be preserved.

IMPACT VISUALS

SECHABA

THE 1980's: THE SMELL OF VICTORY

Now in the 1980's, the South African government has increased the size of its armed forces and modernized its weaponry to meet the growing unrest. Despite these developments, current levels of resistance have made areas of the country ungovernable with acts of open defiance occuring daily. Opposition forces are not only becoming better organized, but they are increasingly working together to carry out boycotts, stay aways and many other protest actions. The cost in deaths and detentions has been high, but the smell of victory is stronger than it has ever been before.

LESLEY LAWSON

The Freedom Charter

THE FREEDOM CHARTER

On June 25, 1955, nearly 3,000 delegates gathered at Kliptown near Johannesburg. There were 2,222 Africans, 320 Indians, 230 Coloureds and 112 Whites. In addition to these delegates, there were about 3,000 observers. The next day, on June 26, the **Freedom Charter** was adopted as the program for a non-racial unitary and democratic state.

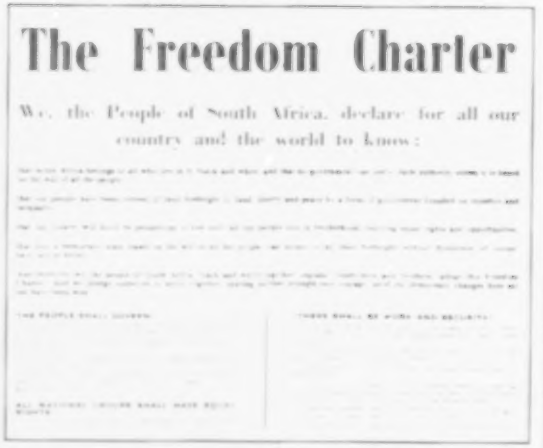
GATHERING FREEDOM DEMANDS

Prior to the Kliptown gathering, volunteers had fanned out all over South Africa collecting 'freedom demands' which were then fed back to the delegates and organizers to form the body of the demands contained in the Charter. The **Freedom Charter** is today the opposition's key document. It carries with it a vision of a liberated South Africa, free from the chains of apartheid.

The Congress of the People held in Kliptown in 1955 where the Freedom Charter was adopted.

THE CHARTER: A STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

It should be noted that the **Freedom Charter** is primarily a statement of principles or ideals and not a blue-print for a political system. The challenge for a new, non-racial government will be to forge a political-economic system which will live up to the ideals envisaged in the Charter. Some of the only clues we have for these future political and economic directions lie in the day-to-day operations of the organizations working to end apartheid, and in the programs currently being administered in the refugee camps for South African exiles.


The Freedom Charter

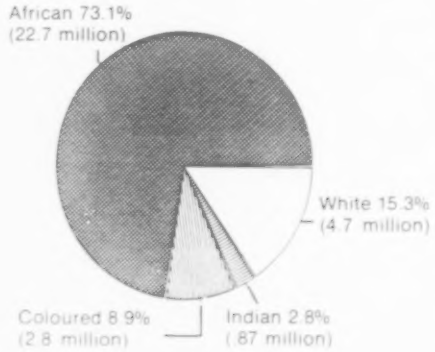
We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

The full text of the Freedom Charter is included on the last page.

Now let's move on to look at **What South Africans are fighting against and what they are fighting for. . .**

Population

The total population of South Africa was estimated at just over 31 million in 1983.



The Chameleon Dance — from a CBC Radio Report March 22, 1986

The South African authorities have released new figures on the changing racial make-up of their country. South Africans call it the 'Chameleon Dance' — and in their country, the reclassification process can change your entire life.

This year, the Minister of Home Affairs announced that:

- *702 coloureds became whites*
- *19 whites became coloured*
- *3 Chinese became white*
- *30 Malays became Indian*
- *249 blacks (Africans) became coloured*
- *3 blacks (Africans) turned Malay*

But the Minister said that no whites became blacks (Africans) and no blacks (Africans) became whites!

WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING AGAINST

Apartheid policies have made black people aliens in the land of their birth.

Under this racist system, people are classified at birth according to a combination of skin colour, physical appearance, language group and descent. That classification dictates by law everything from where you live and work, where your children go to school, to whether you can vote or not. Other political rights have also been denied under apartheid, such as the right to organize and freedom to read materials other than those approved by the State. Black people are treated as units of labour and black women not in the workforce are categorized as 'superfluous appendages'. Africans have had their lands stolen and their houses destroyed, with many forced into resettlement camps on bantustans or 'black lands'. A few social restrictions have recently been lifted — but as long as the power and wealth remain in the hands of whites only, there can be no equality for the black majority.

IDAF

WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING FOR

"South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white".

The vast majority of South Africa's people are fighting for a country where all will be equal regardless of colour, race or sex. Broad-based organizations such as the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) encourage the participation of all South Africans in their structures, as the banned African National Congress (ANC) has historically done. In the South Africa of the future, there will be respect for **all** languages, cultures, beliefs and customs. After liberation, to practice racism will be a punishable crime.

IMPACT VISUALS

The Political System

THE BANTUSTANS

Bantustans are the areas designated by the apartheid regime as the 'homelands' of the African population. They are expected to exercise their political rights within these scattered fragments of land.

Neck and Neck

Two candidates in a boycott-hit apartheid election were running neck and neck yesterday — with one vote each!
— Morning Star, London
5.11.81

WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING AGAINST

Africans have been stripped of their political rights.

Africans have been excluded from participation in central government and denied South African citizenship by whites. Apartheid legislation has attempted to 'retribalize' Africans who increasingly see themselves as a people. 'Tribal' chiefs are appointed and kept in power by the central government to control political life on the state created bantustans (or black 'reserves'). The bantustan authorities, not surprisingly, lack legitimacy and popular support among Africans.

In 1983 a three chamber segregated parliament was created by Pretoria to give Coloured and Asian voters a very limited voice in national politics. Subsequent elections for that parliament were massively boycotted by the communities involved. The all-white State Security Council, dominated by the heads of the military and police forces, has the power to veto any decisions made in the parliaments. Under the new constitution, there has even been a shift of power away from the 'white' parliament to the head of government and the State Security Council.

LESLEY LAWSON

WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING FOR

"The people shall govern."

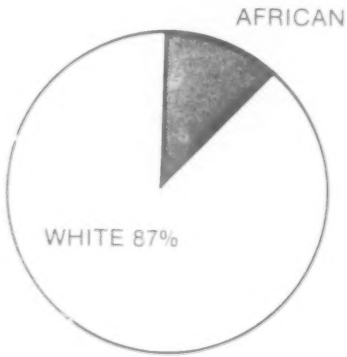
The **Freedom Charter** embodies a program for a non-racial, unitary and democratic state. All the structures and institutions which buttress apartheid, such as the bantustans and the segregated parliaments, will be dismantled. As the Charter emphasizes, "all bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government." Underlying these changes will be the right of **every** man and woman to vote and to stand as a candidate.

For example, in the re-organization of the trade union movement which began in the 1970's, 'shop floor democracy' was stressed to ensure the participation of the rank and file in decision-making. Community members are also increasingly directing their own affairs through civic associations and street committees which deal with everything from neighbourhood cleanups to crime control. The organizations of mass resistance to apartheid have been built with a clear commitment to democratic process despite the tremendous difficulties they face.

THE CORDONED HEART

Land

WHO OWNS THE LAND?



The Loss of Land

— A Poet Speaks

We pass where life was,
The sun showing the place every morning,
Where every reflection of our eyes
Is attracted to our ancestors...
Why not the body of the land
forever,
Why not my rooigrond living on,
The spirits of our ancestors
buried there?
While false beliefs like glue
Hold our new homes together.

— David Mphusu
from **Old Homes**

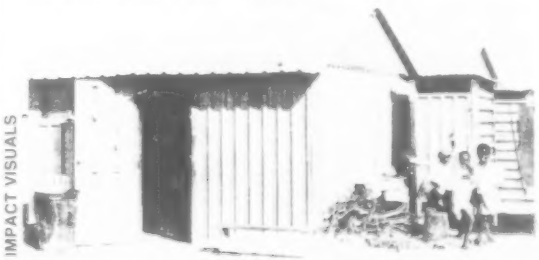
WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING AGAINST

Africans have been forcibly removed from the land of their ancestors

The first white settlers arrived in South Africa in 1652. Since then, and despite fierce resistance, Africans have lost their lands to white armed force and racist legislation. The 'Native Land Act' of 1913 divided the land between blacks and whites. That act and subsequent enabling legislation has meant that today 13% of the poorest land in South Africa has been designated as 'homelands' or bantustans for the African population. Fully 87% has been reserved for white ownership and use.

Since, 1950, over 4 million blacks have been forcibly removed at gunpoint. Successful African farmers forced off their land and into overcrowded bantustans find there are few jobs. Some must resort to becoming hired hands on white farms in order to survive. Others join the thousands looking for work in the mines.

Unequal division of land is also becoming a factor on the bantustans themselves. There a few black people who have benefited monetarily from their association with the white regime have been buying out desperate families and concentrating land in their own hands.



IMPACT VISUALS

WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING FOR

"The Land shall be shared among those who work it"

The **Freedom Charter** calls for an end to restrictions on land use and ownership based on segregationist legislation. These laws will be abolished and land redivided amongst those who work it. The new government will move to help African farmers with implements, seed, tractors, soil conservation programs and other technical support.

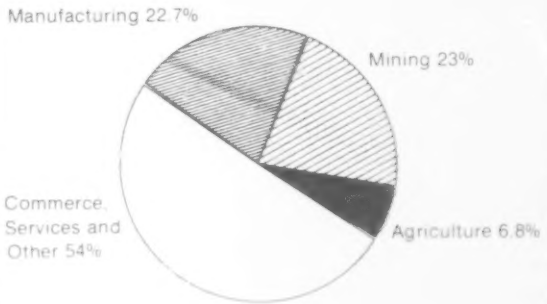
We get a glimpse of the new approach to agricultural development after apartheid in the efforts of farmers in Mpukonyoni along the Natal Coast. In 1981, 60 cassava growers each established a small crop. Early in 1982 they formed an association and, along with others in the area, supported projects such as fruit tree distribution, water supplies and legal aid. Within 6 months, an umbrella body, the Mpukonyoni Farmers Union, representing some 1,000 households, came into being. Recognizing these developments as a threat, the white authorities ruled that the people of Mpukonyoni were guilty of being 'inappropriately situated' and a process of 'resettlement' was begun.

Protest meeting against removals

THE CORDONED HEART

The Economy

1980 STRUCTURE OF THE ECONOMY
(Contribution to total output)



THE CORDONED HEART

WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING AGAINST

An economic system which benefits a priviledged few whites while impoverishing the majority black population.

In **agriculture**, whites own the capital intensive commercial farms which depend on cheap African farm labour, made possible by apartheid policies. Africans, unhappy with the desperately low wages and poor working conditions are prevented from changing jobs by the Labour Bureau regulations. **Mining** which contributes roughly 70% of export earnings, was responsible for the development of the migrant labour system which keeps Africans from living where they work. **Manufacturing** has grown quickly due to heavy state subsidies and import substitution in textiles and basic consumer goods and, more recently, energy and armaments.

Ownership and control of the South African economy is in white hands, while blacks provide the cheap labour. Corporate concentration is extreme, with four conglomerates dominating the economy and owning fully 80% of the shares on the stock exchange. The State itself plays a key role in ownership of companies in strategic sectors such as transport, telecommunications and arms production. Key to the viability of the apartheid economy is the presence of foreign transnational corporations that bring with them foreign exchange and new technology.

WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING FOR

"The people shall share in the country's wealth"

"The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people"

"The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and the monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole."

These two articles from the **Freedom Charter** indicate that those who have used apartheid policies and laws to build profitable industries will no longer be allowed to amass exhorbitant profits on the backs of black workers. We can be sure that central to the process of transformation of the economy will be the need to redistribute wealth and break the stranglehold of monopolies over South Africa's industry.

The economic structures that a non-racial, democratic and free South Africa will have is still a subject of debate and discussion within South Africa. However the **Freedom Charter**'s formulation indicates that the process will involve broad participation of people from all races and walks of life.

IDAF

Labour

MONTHLY INCOME BY SECTOR (1983)		
	Black	**White**
Mining	$251	$1,222
Manufacturing	362	1,429
Construction	297	1,493
Food and Retail	242	1,174

SACTU Solidarity Committee

IDAF

'Production is more important than safety'. This statement by the chief safety engineer of one of South Africa's big mining companies goes a long way towards explaining the appalling safety record of South Africa's gold mines. In 1982, accidents killed 596 miners and injured 15,250 badly enough to keep them away from work for two weeks.

— The Economist(UK) 12/2/83

WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING AGAINST

The apartheid economy — geared to high profits for whites on the backs of black labour.

Many of the racist laws passed by the South African government are meant to control the movement and availability of black people's labour. The migrant labour system, begun by mine owners as a way to keep down labour costs, has now spread into every sector of the economy. Under this system, workers are housed in separate single-sex hostels and it is illegal to have their children or spouses living with them.

There is no 'free market' for black labour in South Africa. The state labour bureau controls access to jobs and channels black labour into sectors of the economy where workers must toil for the rest of their working lives. Apartheid laws also deny blacks the right to unemployment benefits or the guarantee of a minimum wage.

In 1979 black workers were given the right to join unions but under severe limitations. Strikes continue to be dealt with harshly, with leaders detained, harassed and tortured by the police and army.

THE CORDONED HEART

WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING FOR

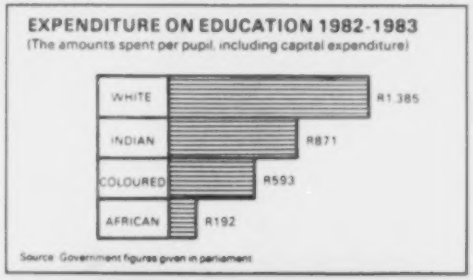
"There shall be work and security."

The new Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) has resolved to fight for the scrapping of the migrant labour system. COSATU is also determined to establish the right of workers to seek employment wherever they wish and to reside with their families in proper housing. Workers are campaigning for a 40 hour week, a minimum wage, unemployment benefits, the right to strike, safe working conditions and other issues, many of which are basic principles of the **Freedom Charter**.

Organized South African workers through their unions and political organizations are struggling for a fair, democratic and rational economic system to underpin a new, non-racial society. But that day is not here yet and black workers have organized massive protests, strikes, boycotts and stay aways to bring down the unjust economic system kept in place by apartheid.

IMPACT VISUALS

Education



ALF KUMALO

Studying by candelight in South Africa.

ANC

and in the library of the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College.

WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING AGAINST

"The purpose of bantu education is to ensure that the natives will be taught from childhood that equality with Europeans is not for them."

— Dr. H.F. Verwoed (former Prime Minister)

Education for blacks under apartheid is separate from whites and vastly inferior. Black children are educated in overcrowded classrooms with inadequate facilities; their teachers are poorly trained; and difficult home conditions (no electricity for many) make study a problem. On top of these obstacles, blacks have to pay school fees whereas whites get their education free.

The rationale behind apartheid's educational policies is the 'training' of black people to fit into their 'place' in society. From this basic precept follows the vastly greater resources poured into white schools and universities, often eight times greater than what is put into black education.

Education has become a key issue in the resistance against apartheid and students are playing a key role. Many thousands have been killed and many more arrested during the last ten years. In the most recent state of emergency, 20% of the detainees were youth, and 50% of them under 16 years of age. In the summer of 1985 the national high school students' organization, COSAS, was banned.

WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING FOR

"The doors of learning and culture shall be opened."

Student organizations such as the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) have demanded:

- free education and textbooks
- qualified teachers
- democratic student councils
- abolition of corporal punishment
- abolition of sexual harassment

Along with these specific demands comes a call by all the student organizations for a dismantling of apartheid.

Youth forums set up across the nation have elaborated an Education Charter for a liberated South Africa. These forums have allowed students to share strategies such as boycotts, but also to address the question of youth unemployment. Students have also built alliances with parents, workers, and community organizations in support of consumer boycotts or work place stay aways.

At the **Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College** for South African refugees in Tanzania, an educational system is being developed which balances academic and vocational training. Courses emphasize the regaining of black people's own history and culture and teaches respect for all forms of work.

Health

HEALTH CARE IN SOUTH AFRICA		
	Black	**White**
• Average life expectancy	55	68
• Infant Mortality	10%	1.8%
• # of Doctors	1 for 9,000	1 for 330

- 40% of black people have T.B. and 10 people die from it each day.
- There are 5 times the number of beds in hospitals per 1000 whites than for blacks.

IDAF

WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING AGAINST

Disease and malnutrition — the product of poor social services and poverty.

Vast inequality exists between health care for blacks and whites. White hospitals spend $60 a day per patient while overcrowded black hospitals spend $20. For every 1000 black infants born, 110 will die. This figure goes as high as 550 per 1000 in some parts of South Africa. Malnutrition is a major problem for African children and between 15 and 30 thousand die from it each year.

Living conditions for black people, especially in the bantustans, are extremely hazardous to health. Overcrowding, inadequate housing, improper sewage disposal create conditions for cholera and T.B. Children die even of curable diseases like measles. Most Africans die of diseases caused or aggravated by poverty. In contrast, whites in South Africa die mainly of heart disease — a disease of affluence.

Whites enjoy one of the best health services in the world, while tens of thousands of blacks have little access to treatment or are discharged before they are well because of lack of hospital beds for incoming patients. Official policy has been for relatives of aged Africans to care for them in the bantustans. Most old age homes that have been built in South Africa are for whites.

WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING FOR

"A preventative health scheme shall be run by the state."

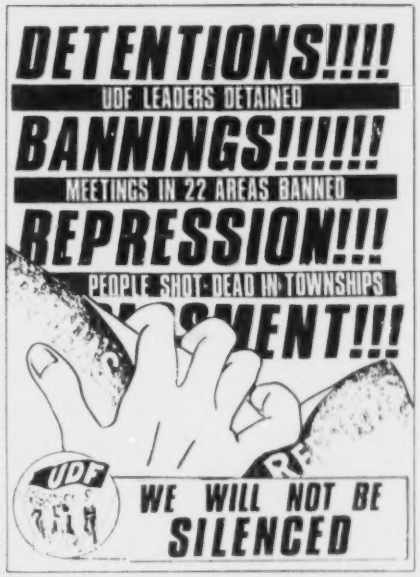
"Free medical care and hospitalization shall be provided for all with special care for mothers and young children."

The first steps towards a comprehensive health program suggested in the **Freedom Charter** were taken in 1982 when a new, alternative medical association was formed. This association, NAMDA, is committed to challenging current health policy, oriented to providing services to the community rather than answering the needs of the elite. The associaton promotes participation in solving health problems by those most affected and is emphasizing the importance of community based, rural clinics.

NAMDA also performs an important function in training people to treat injuries received as a result of army violence. NAMDA doctors and health workers do not collaborate with the police in reporting injuries, which could lead to arrest and death for black protestors and opponents of apartheid.

IMPACT VISUALS

Human Rights



REPRESSION IN A TIME OF 'REFORM'

IMPACT VISUALS

WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING AGAINST

South Africa is ruled by force and whites deny blacks the most basic human rights.

The complex web of repressive legislation which exists in South Africa today makes almost all forms of opposition and resistance illegal. Apartheid's laws dictate where black people can work, live, learn and worship. They have also severely restricted freedom of movement and have been used to deny South African citizenship to black people living in the 'homelands'. Under these laws over 6 million blacks have been forced from designated white areas at gunpoint to relocation camps on bantustans.

The white regime's widest powers derive from the so-called 'security laws'. Under these laws there are powers to detain people without trial; to ban people, organizations and meetings; to break up meetings; and to imprison people. These laws have also created conditions under which the torture of political prisoners has become routine, and where you are guilty until proven innocent.

The 1982 Internal Security Act consolidated previously existing security legislation and added new powers. New offences covered include 'subversion, terrorism and incitement.' Since the definition of these offences is very broad, they can be used when necessary against the opposiiton. And under 'incitement' it is now also illegal to encourage or aid another to protest against any of the apartheid laws.

WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING FOR

"All shall enjoy equal human rights!"

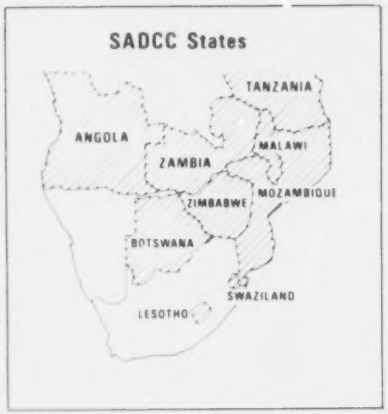
"The laws shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organize, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children."

The **Freedom Charter** goes on to indicate that in a new, non-racial South Africa people will be able to travel freely anywhere in the country. The current repressive legislation which violates basic human rights, shall be abolished.

Led in the struggle for liberation by the ANC, South Africa's increasingly organized black population is stepping up its opposition to apartheid, and building the road to liberty.

IMPACT VISUALS

Regional Relations



ATLAS OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS

WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING AGAINST

South Africa's policy of destabilization and aggression against its neighbours.

Historically, South Africa viewed its neighbours as labour reserves — especially useful for migrant workers in the mines. To maintain this relationship, South Africa promoted the idea of a 'Constellation of Southern African States' in 1975. But the plan was short circuited by the liberation of Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

Since that time, South Africa has opted for a strategy of regional destabilization in an undeclared war against its neighbours. It has invaded Angola several times, causing over $10 billion in damages in the last ten years. The South African army has also slaughtered Angolan citizens. The photos of the mass graves in Kassinga are a horrifying reminder. Pretoria has also armed rebel groups such as UNITA in Angola and MNR in Mozambique and trained them in sabotage and terror tactics. South Africa continues to use its airforce and army commando units in damaging attacks against all neighbouring countries, while claiming to be striking at ANC targets. The white racist regime now spends **23%** of its total budget on 'defence'.

In Namibia, South African domination has included military occupation since 1915, declared illegal by the United Nations in 1969. In spite of international presssure, South Africa still had more than 100,000 troops in Namibia in 1982.

WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING FOR

"There shall be peace and friendship."

In a free South Africa, international disputes will be settled through negotiation, not war. Peace and friendship will be secured through upholding equal rights and opportunities and status for all — permiting people to decide for themselves their own future.

SADCC (the South Africa Development Coordination Conference) was set up by South Africa's neighbours to reduce their economic dependence on South Africa and to forge links with each other. This is a model of the kind of cooperation there could be in the future in which South Africa will play a crucial role.

Despite the hardship of reprisals, front line states have supported the liberation movements fighting to free South Africa. They realize that the region will never develop until they are free of the threat of South Africa's apartheid and aggressive foreign policies.

IDAF

THE PATH TO LIBERATION

"These freedoms we will fight for, side by side, throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty." — the **Freedom Charter.**

Today, black opposition to apartheid is far better organized than ever before. Under the leadership of the ANC, community bodies, women's groups and trade unions are all highly organized and active in the struggle against the white racist regime. Students are central to the current uprising in South Africa, as they were in Soweto in 1976, with the big difference that they are no longer isolated from the other currents of opposition.

STUDENT RESISTANCE

Half of South Africa's black majority is under 25 years old. After the Soweto uprising and wholesale killing of students, approximately 10,000 left South Africa, with many joining the military wing of the ANC. Strong new student groups have emerged since then. The most important of these are the Congress of South Africa Students (COSAS) and the Azanian Students' Organization (AZASO). Adopting the theme 'student-worker action' COSAS and AZASO have become involved in a wide range of community and trade union support struggles. They argue that the forces which oppress black students "are not colour as such, but rather economic factors." Some white students have supported these struggles through NUSAS (The National Union of South African Students) and the end conscription campaign. All three groups back the ANC's **Freedom Charter** and have pledged to fight for a unified and democratic system of education.

IMPACT VISUALS

THE BLACK COMMUNITY ORGANIZES

Local community organizations exist at all levels, from groups resisting forced removals, to people's courts, to new doctors' associations. The townships are now organized and, as far as the white government is concerned, ungovernable. In many black areas, street committees have been formed to take care of concerns ranging from neighbourhood cleanups to children's parks. Along with civic associations they have become the local administration, and in conjunction with the people's courts, have cracked down on crime and helped settle domestic disputes. Pretoria's appointed community councils have been dismantled and local residents are gaining valuable experience in self-government as they organize against apartheid.

WOMEN FIGHT FOR EQUALITY AND FREEDOM

The Women's Charter, adopted by the founding conference of the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) in 1954, is still considered relevant by women in South Africa today. It situates the struggle of women against subordination firmly within the overall struggle against class and racial oppression. Over the years, women have been actively involved in providing leadership within the trade unions, community and political organizations fighting against apartheid. Increasingly in the 1980's, women have also formed their **own** organizations. Their task is to reach out to women who might otherwise be wary of political organization by focusing on issues of immediate concern, like child care and health. At the same time, women's organizations have participated

IMPACT VISUALS

with the trade unions, youth and community organizations in the broader political campaigns of resistance against apartheid. In the short term, the liberation movement is gaining in numbers as women are drawn into the struggle. In the longer term, women's involvement promises that they will be equal partners with men in the new South Africa created after the dismantling of apartheid.

TRADE UNIONS IN THE STRUGGLE

Since the Soweto uprising, the democratic trade union movement has grown considerably. Today the biggest of the trade union groupings, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) formed in December 1985, has over 500,000 paid-up members. It has a militant and radical program and is extremely well-organized at the shop floor level. The concern for 'shop floor democracy', putting rank and file workers in charge of the decision-making process is now far more than rhetoric; it is clearly established practice.

Most black trade unionists agree that trade union practices must be linked to the political struggle against apartheid. There is also a strong insistence that any system which replaces apartheid must be more than a simple change of colour. The general Secretary of COSATU has said that they are not interested in seeing black bosses replace white bosses, or in simply seeing black faces in parliament. Rather, there has to be a profound shift of power in the country and a profound shift of resources towards black workers. The trade union movement is an important actor in the present struggle for liberation in South Africa.

105

UDF — ARTICULATING POPULAR DEMANDS

Over 600 community groups, women's organizations, youth and student bodies and trade unions have joined the United Democratic Front (UDF). Formed in 1983 as a national opposition vehicle to resist the 'new' constitution proposed by the apartheid state, the UDF has subsequently played a role in helping coordinate grassroots political action on a national level. Although the UDF affiliates do not necessarily share the same ideology or ultimate intent, together they have played a valuable role in analyzing and denouncing the white government's so-called 'reforms'. UDF meetings provide a national forum for debate over the underlying issues at stake as the struggle against white supremacy gains momentum.

THE ANC — LEADING THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

IMPACT VISUALS

The ANC's long history of struggle against the white racist regime makes it the recognized leader of the resistance movement in South Africa. Although imprisoned, ANC leaders like Nelson Mandela continue to provide leadership and inspiration to the popular organizations. Signs of ANC support abound at every demonstration against apartheid — in the ANC banners, and in the freedom songs and chants of the people.

After being banned in 1960 and forced to 'submit or fight', the ANC chose to fight and formed an armed wing called mKhonto we Sizwe. ANC military actions have historically aimed to back popular struggles. As the confrontation with apartheid deepened in the 1980's and government actions became more violent and bloody, ANC president, Oliver Tambo announced a new phase in the armed struggle. The state security apparatus would become a major ANC target, as would the economic installations of foreign companies which aid and abet apartheid. In 1985 the ANC launched the greatest number of armed attacks ever. The direction of both ANC's political and military activity will be a key element in determining what is going to happen in South Africa over the next few months.

FREEDOM IS COMING

The black population in South Africa has drawn the battle lines against apartheid. The structures of power are being shaken, the economic system challenged and racist legislation defied. In the process a great deal has been learned about self-government, active participation and grassroots democracy. The path to liberation is bringing South Africa closer to making the **Freedom Charter** a reality.

106

The Freedom Charter

We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know

that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;

that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together — equals, countrymen and brothers — adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!

- Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;
- All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;
- The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;
- All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!

- There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;
- All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;
- All national groups shall be protected by law against insult to their race and national pride;
- The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;
- All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

- The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;
- The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the Banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;
- All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;
- All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!

- Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;
- The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors, and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;
- Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;
- All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;
- People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

- No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

• No one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;
• The courts shall be representative of all the people;
• Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;
• The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;
• All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS!

• The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;
• The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;
• All shall be free to travel without restriction from country-side to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;
• Pass Laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!

• All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;
• The state shall recognize the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;
• Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;
• There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;
• Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;
• Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND OF CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

• The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;
• All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;
• The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty, and peace;
• Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;
• Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;
• Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;
• Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;
• The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!

• All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;
• Unused housing space to be made available to the people;
• Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;
• A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;
• Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;
• Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;
• The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;
• Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;
• Fenced locations and ghettoes shall be abolished, and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

• South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;
• South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation — not war;
• Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;
• The people of the protectorates — Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;
• The right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all those who love their people and their country now say, as we say here: "THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY."

Adopted at the Congress of the People, Kliptown, South Africa, on 26th June, 1955

CULTURE AS RESISTANCE

South African artists in exile and the many who remain in the country are constructing a culture of resistance built on a history of creative expression and a collective spirit to overcome.

The development of black culture in South Africa has been marked by drastic restrictions on the flow of information and ideas coupled with the brutal enforcement of apartheid laws. Pretoria has banned over 20,000 publications in the last two decades. The regime maintains an extensive list of writers whose works cannot be published in South Africa. Black artists, deprived of freedom of movement under apartheid and lacking funding, find it hard to rehearse for a play or concert, or even create new works. Whites dominate the South African entertainment industry so that particularly gifted black artists who wish to express themselves fully and freely, often find that exile is the only available option.

The apartheid government has its own ideas of what black culture amounts to. It organizes and promotes 'shows' for tourists, featuring 'primitive' tribal dances and 'happy' blacks in traditional costumes. But behind this facade of tribalism and despite the restrictions, the black population is developing a rich cultural life which is increasingly linked to resistance against apartheid. Poetry, plays, music, dance and visual art forms investigate day-to-day problems and their causes and communicate deeper levels of community feeling.

Recently, in many black townships, a form of people's culture has evolved which includes street theatre, cultural weekends and even an independent recording company. People who have something to say, act, dance or sing about have become amazingly resourceful in finding cultural platforms from which to voice their artistic talents. A vibrant 'workers' culture has developed in the independent trade unions. Workers' choirs write songs which tell of their struggles, while plays document and relive the drama of their strikes.

The History Workshop, held every two years at the University of Witwatersrand, brings together a creative mix of educational and cultural events. This major workshop features films, videos, slide tape shows, photo displays, the recounting of personal experience and plays. An alternative publishing tradition has blossommed over the past 10 years. Publishing houses such as Ravan Press and Skotaville Press print works

IMPACT VISUALS

One of more than 600 artists who attended the Culture and Resistance Festival in Botswana in 1982

by South African writers, poets, artists and academics who reflect the social, political and economic reality of their country.

Outside South Africa, AMANDLA, the cultural wing of the ANC, tours the world communicating the various dimensions of their struggle against apartheid. Amandla is made up of musicians, singers, dancers, poets and visual artists who see themselves as freedom fighters, no less important in the struggle for liberation than the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. South African artists in exile and the many who remain in the country are constructing a culture of resistance built on a history of creative expression and a collective spirit to overcome.

Margie Brunn-Meyer

In 1986 at a major festival entitled 'Toronto Arts Against Apartheid', Canadian artists like these spoke out against the racist regime in South Africa.

ARTISTS AGAINST APARTHEID IN CANADA

Canadian artists have been inspired by their sisters and brothers in South Africa, and many have begun to speak out through their work against the policies of the South African government. One example of their protest is this poem by Dionne Brand . . .(excerpted)

UNTITLED

Dionne Brand

There are 19 dead in Uitenhage
because death has to do with latitude
they say the motion of a woman's arm
they say a woman who threw a stone
they say the wind carried it to an animal's breath
they say it charged, fired, was standing at easy distance
they say the ones who tell were going to a funeral.

There are 19 dead in Uitenhage
you see death has to do with climate
now in Langa there is a brisk trade
at the gunshops, only whites can buy
and the gunstore keeper says that they should have
killed them all in '76, if they'd done that
this would never have happened

There are 19 dead in Uitenhage
because death has to do with marketing
Rio Tinto Zinc algoma anglo-american
threaten that sanctions will only make blacks
suffer more
best to just leave well enough alone
Ford U.S.A. Ford Canada
know it cost more to live here
and it costs more for a white to live there so
Ford S.A. says, with a life only a quarter as worthy
how much does a black need to live on anyway.

There are 19 dead in Uitenhage
because death has to do with official figures
it requires 95% less space in the Globe and Mail
to describe the deaths of
300 blacks in South Africa than
one priest in poland,
to be more precise it is sufficient
to get the official count of the
ministry police, more to the point
the policemen in capetown are more
honest than the policeman in warsaw

There are 19 dead in Uitenhage
because, we know, death has to do with geography.

IN MEMORY OF RUTH FIRST**

Abdullah Ibrahim

Shall we retaliate with bombs and midnight
assassinations?
Ruth Slovo!
The Boers* are not our teachers

Shall we penetrate deep into their homes and kill
refugees and children?
Matola!***
The Boers are not our teachers

Shall we massacre unarmed people whose only
crime is demanding what is rightfully theirs?
Mueda!****
They are not our teachers

Remember
Remember
Kassinga*****
Remember
Sharpeville******
Remember
Remember
Remember
They are not our teachers
they are not our teachers
they are not our teachers!

*term used to refer to white South Africans who support apartheid.

**Ruth First (Slovo) was a white member of the ANC working at a social research centre in Mozambique. She was assassinated by a parcel bomb sent to her University office on August 17, 1982. This poem was read by the South African jazz pianist Abdullah Ibrahim (Dollar Brand) at a memorial concert for Ruth in Maputo 2 days after she was killed.

***A suburb of Maputo where 12 ANC refugees were killed by South African special commandos in January 1981.

****Town in northern Mozambique where in 1960 the Portuguese army massacred over 100 people at a peaceful rally demanding independence.

*****Namibian refugee camp in Angola. A raid by South African troops in 1978 killed over 600 refugees, mainly youths.

******Black township in South Africa where police killed 69 peaceful demonstrators in March 1960.

TIME HAS RUN OUT

Mongane Serote

Alas —
time has run out:
too much blood has been spilled, please my countrymen, can someone say a word of wisdom
it is too late, blood, no matter how little of it, when it spills, spills on the brain — on the memory.
of a nation — it is as if the sea floods the earth, the
lights go out. mad hounds howl in the dark; ah,
now we've become familiar with horror. the heart
of our country, when it makes its pulse, ticking time,
wounds us. my countrymen, can someone,
who understands that it is now too late, who knows that exploitation and oppression are brains which,
being insane, only know how to make violence;
can someone, teach us how to mount the
wound, and fight.
time has run out —
period.

*First published in *Staffrider*, Nov.-Dec. 1979 (Staffrider is a literary journal published in Johannesburg.

People of Crossroads' Lino-cut — *Mphathi Gocini*

'Crossroads' is a squatter community which became an international symbol of resistance to apartheid. The people organized schools and clinics in the community and refused to move, despite government repression. The most recent government tactic is to split the community and encourage right wing vigilantes to attack community organizers and residents.

WOMEN MUST SPEAK

"You who have no work,
speak.
You who have no homes,
speak.
You who have no schools,
speak.
You who have to run like
chickens from the vulture,
speak.
Let us share our problems
so that we can solve them together.
We must free ourselves.
Men and women must share
housework.
Men and women must work together
in the home and out in the world.
There are no creches and nursery
schools for our children.
There are no homes for the aged.
There is no-one to care for the sick.
Women must unite
to fight for these rights."

Dora Tamana
South African women's leader

CULTURAL RESOURCES

The list below is not intended to be representative of the rich cultural materials available from South Africa. However, these references can get you started — and most are available in Canada. A good place to begin your search for books, films and tapes is the *Development Education Centre,* 229 College Street, Toronto, Ontario. M5T 1R4.

IMPACT VISUALS

MUSIC

AMANDLA. The cultural group of the ANC which includes singers, dancers, poets, musicians, visual artists. They have three records and a video, *Song of the Spear.*

FOSATU workers choir tape. (Shifty Records).

Liberation: South African Freedom Songs. AFCO Records, 310 E. 44th St., Room 1703, New York, NY 10017.

Rhythm of Resistance: Music of Black South Africa. Boot Records, 1343 Matheson Blvd. E., Mississauga, Ontario

Prominent musicians include: Abdullah Ibraham, (Dollar Brand) — *Ekaya* (home), Juluka — *Scatterlings,* Hugh Masekela — *Coal Train.*

Sun City — a video available from the Canadian Auto Workers.

POETRY

A major literary form in South Africa

Wally Serote is one of South Africa's best known poets. Also watch for works by Breyten Breytenbach, Oswald Mtshali and Don Mattera.

Two anthologies you might consult:

Molefe, Sono (editor). *Malibongwe: ANC Women: Poetry is also their weapon.* The African National Congress.

Feinberg, Barry (Editor). *Poets to the People: South African Freedom Poems.* London: Allen and Unwin, 1974.

NOVELS

Are beginning to be an important form of cultural expression in South Africa.

Look for these, among many others:

Andre Brink — *Dry White Season, Chain of Voices.*
J.M. Coetzee — *Life and Times of Michael K., Waiting for the Barbarians.*
Nadine Gordimer — *Burger's Daughter, the Conservationist.*
Bessie Head — *Question of Power.*
Alex LaGuma — *The Walk in the Night.*
Ezekiel Mphahlele — *The Wanderers.*
Njabulo S. Ndebele — *Fools*

PLAYS

You might begin with:
Theatre and Cultural Struggle in South Africa by Robert Kavanagh.

Authors to look for include:
Gibson Kente and Athol Fugard.

Recent theatre titles: *Black Dog, Woza Albert* and *Asinamali,* 'We have no money', a play put on by the Market Theatre group.

For a play you might produce with high school students: *Scenes from Soweto,* by Steve Wilmer. You can get a copy of the script from Lois Berman, 250 West 57th Street, New York NY 10019.

PUBLISHERS

Inside South Africa the two main publishers are: *Ravan Press* and *Skotaville Press.*

This is from a kit called **South Africa on the Move**, available from CUSO, ECSA desk, 135 Rideau St., Ottawa, Ont. K1N 9K7.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION (yellow section)

☐ Background Papers
- Sectoral papers
  (Youth, Women, Trade Unions, the Church)
- The Canadian Connection
- The Resistance Movement in South Africa

☐ Resources
- Directory of Groups
- Resource List
- Glossary

YOUTH

MARGIE BRUUN-MEYER

YOUTH AND STUDENTS

From the class rooms. . . .to the streets!

To be young and black in South Africa

Imagine that your breakfast was probably a thick slice of brown bread smeared with margarine and sprinkled with brown sugar. Still hungry, and probably tired from the long walk to school, imagine you are huddled, two or three to a desk, in the always overcrowded class room. You are part of the "morning shift". This afternoon another "shift" of children will pack into the classroom. Only one of the three students at your desk has any books. Your own parents can't afford to buy you schoolbooks and for the children of unemployed or low paid black workers, nothing is free. You are usually not allowed in the school gate unless you are wearing the regulation uniform — and your parents have to lay out scarce cash for your blazer, shirts, shorts or skirt.

You know your teachers are badly paid and poorly trained. Most work heroically under appalling conditions to try and give you something of an education, but very many are overwhelmed by the difficulties of teaching two daily shifts of up to 80 children a class. Other teachers soon give up the fight against a syllabus designed to teach you that black people are inferior to whites, that the history of your country only began when the white colonisers arrived to take it away from the original inhabitants, and that South Africa's black majority are not really "South Africans" at all, but belong to wierd tribal "homelands" dreamed up by the white government in Pretoria.

Your country, South Africa, is the richest and the only industrialised state in Africa. But the rate of illiteracy has been estimated as high as 30% — higher than in Tanzania for example. Yet less than 1% of the white population is illiterate. Under its apartheid policies, the white govenment spends ten times as much money educating each white child as it spends on the education of those black children lucky enough to be in school. In 1984, only 20% of the 5.5 million Africans attending school were in secondary school, and barely 1.5% of all African school students reached — let alone completed — the final year of high school. A survey by the South African Institute of Race Relations in 1984 showed that in Soweto — where conditions are probably the "best" in the country — 40% of African students who had managed to reach the final two years of secondary school did not have teachers for all subjects, 36% did not have electricity at home, 41% did not have textbooks for all their subjects, 5% had between 70 and 80 pupils in their class (the median for Africans was 47, compared to 18 for whites), and 51.8 % did not have access to a library.

Life is violent in the classrooms of black schools. Corporal punishment is part of the daily routine — often the only way in which exhausted teachers think they can keep control. You expect to be beaten at least once a week. If you are a girl, you will know that many teachers insist that you sleep with them if you want to pass at the end of the year. And if you don't pass, your parents will have scrimped and saved in vain, and you may not be allowed to continue your education.

And even if you are one of the less than 1% of all black school pupils who finally pass the school leaving examination, you know that your future is bleak. Over 4 million black people are unemployed in South Africa, or almost one in every three adults. Less than half of the 250,000 blacks who enter the job market for the first time each year find jobs — and even those who do are kept in the lowest paid jobs. South Africa's economy needs an additional 35,000 skilled and technical workers each year, but trains only 12,000 of them. And most of these are whites.

You think about these things and you remember that South Africa's whites-only government which introduced this **Bantu education system** said quite openly that education for black South Africans was deliberately to be kept inferior and was designed to give you only basic literacy and numeracy skills — to prepare black youth for their "proper place" as cheap labour in the white man's economy. You can quote by heart the notorious statement by the architect of apartheid, former Prime Minister **Henrik Verwoerd.** He said:

"There is no place for him [blacks] in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. . . ..For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community. . . .

As you sit in your noisy classroom you know the police are waiting outside to pounce on the slightest sign of "trouble". Often they invade your school hurling tear gas and thrashing "agitators" with their whips. Friends of yours are among 1,000 young people shot dead by the police in the past two years, and the thousands more they have imprisoned. You know that there are 11 year-old children in solitary confinement and that students are routinely tortured in police custody. You know too that the police maintain a network of informers to whisper to their white

masters which of you is joining in the political discussions at school, and who are the members of the democratic student organisations.

Half of the South African black majority is less than 25 years old. What they have really been taught by the bantu education system is that they have no future under apartheid. If you can imagine what it must be like to live under these conditions, you could also clearly imagine that young black South Africans had more than enough of **apartheid** and now seem determined to do away with it. Millions of them have left the classrooms and gone into the streets to fight back against the system. They have confronted bullets, tanks, tear gas and whips in a desperate effort to build a future for themselves. In doing so, they draw on a rich tradition of resistance by black youth.

The generation of 1976

Since the formation of the Youth League of the **African National Congress (ANC)** in 1943, African youth have always been in the forefront of the struggle for democracy in South Africa. The banning of the ANC in 1960 and destruction of its underground organisation by 1963, led to a period of black political passivity. This began to change at the end of the 1960s. Black students withdrew from the nominally non-racial, but white-dominated **National Union of South African Students (NUSAS)** to form **the South African Students' Organisation (SASO).** SASO was the first and most important grouping in the emerging **Black Conciousness Movement (BCM).** Rejecting the "paternalistic domination of white liberals", the black students who ran the BCM argued that Blacks had to liberate themselves psychologically by rejecting all "Eurocentric" values and developing a "positive black world view". Only blacks could liberate blacks through the harnessing of the collective energies of all black people in "solidarity in organisation". This led the BCM to exclude all whites from "black" activities.

Based mainly on students and intellectuals, the vocal and activist-oriented BCM was crucial in regenerating a strong sense of black pride which shattered the long period of political passivity. The BCM was the leading force in the **1976 Soweto rebellion** when close to 1,000 unarmed students were shot dead by apartheid's police for the crime of refusing to be educated in the Afrikaans language. A national boycott of classes lasted almost a year.

However Soweto revealed the limitations of the BCM with its stress on Students as "the vanguard of the struggle" — the people who would change "the system" largely on their own — and its consequent failure to organise a wider base in the community, particularly among black workers. Following the 1977 murder in police custody of the the founder of Black Consciousness, Steve Biko, all the BC organisations were banned. Yet the new political consciousness of the youth could not be tamed. An estimated 10,000 of "the generation of Soweto" left South Africa illegally, and perhaps 75% of them joined the ANC as cadres of its military wing, **uMKhonto we Sizwe.** In 1978 The ANC started building a school in Tanzania as the first democratic school for South Africans.

Inside South Africa barely 2 years after the banning of the BC organisations, new radical Student groups emerged. The most important of these were the **Congress of South African Students (COSAS)** for students in secondary school institutions, and the **Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO)** for university students.

Though also originally inspired by a re-vamped Black Consciousness ideology, the experience of the 1980 national boycott of apartheid educational institutions compelled a significant development in the political consciousness of both these organisations. They now abandoned the "student vanguardism" of the early BC movement arguing that:

"[S]tudents are a specific group and they have to play a limited role in the broader struggle [against apartheid]. Their role is to support the struggle of the workers. . . .especially in the trade union and community fronts"

Stressing that the forces which oppress black students are "not colour as such but rather economic factors" both groups now announced their support for the ANC's Program **The Freedom Charter** — rejected by the early BCM. AZASO and COSAS began to cooperate with democratic white groups. More significantly, adopting the theme "Student-Worker Action" COSAS and AZASO involved themselves in a wide range of community and trade union support struggles.

The general objective of both organisations is "to fight for compulsory, free and democratic education in a democratic society". This involved struggle against a number of specific issues raised by apartheid education policy. The major activity of the democratic student organisations in the education field has been the formulation of and fight for the **Education Charter** which would spell-out the demands of the disenfranchised majority of South Africans and the need for a unified and democratic system of education. Although the Charter has not yet been completed, the campaign for a democratic education system had three broad effects.

Firstly it led to a proliferation of student and youth organisation and a clarification of their demands. In the wake of more than six years of student protests against the poor quality of African education, sexual harassment of female students by male teachers, abuse of physical punishment and the demand for elected student representatives in all schools, COSAS strongly consolidated student organisation at both the local and national levels. It also recognised the need to extend the organisation of the youth out of the schools. The rigid age-limits imposed by the apartheid state were designed to exclude militants from high schools and hence from COSAS. In 1984 COSAS began forming **Youth Congresses** to absorb this constituency and also to organise the growing numbers of unemployed young people. By the end of the year twenty such congresses had been formed; by mid 1986 a network of youth Congresses extended to even the smallest towns — where unemployment amongst black youth reaches 75%.

This consolidation of student and youth organisation led secondly to their even deeper involvement in community struggles around issues such as resisting rental, utilities and transport fare increases decreed by the Black Local Authorities. The emerging Youth Congresses in particular organised within local communities around specifically political issues rather than just school or civic questions. They infused an even stronger militancy into student and

community politics. When COSAS was outlawed during the 1985-6 **State of Emergency,** the growing network of Youth Congresses provided a ready made organisational alternative, one which channeled student energies into directly political issues.

This means that youth groups, together with the new democratic trade unions, have become the most important organised force in community resistance to apartheid. This growing swell of community groups and local resistance then thirdly crystallised into emerging national political organisation. The development of the student and youth groups provided an important base for the the mass struggles against apartheid's so-called "new constitutional dispensation" and toothless "power sharing" in the early 1980s. COSAS and AZASO affiliated to the **United Democratic Front (UDF)** on its formation in 1983. Youth organisations played a leading role in getting the UDF to participate in grassroots political action. Without the "push" provided by COSAS militants it is doubtful if the UDF and its affiliated trade unions would have had the incentive or the manpower to organize the spectacularly successful November 1984 stay-away by over 90% of the workforce in the Transvaal. Action by these groups, but particularly COSAS, has been very important in cementing alliances between the trade unions and community organisations in the last year, the most notable result of which was the boycott of white stores throughout the country in 1985. Because the student groups were organised not only locally, but also on a national level through COSAS and AZASO, these organisations and particularly COSAS soon came to play a leading role in the UDF.

The role of democratic white youth

The campaign for the Education Charter was carried out by COSAS and AZASO together with the democratic white students organistation, the **National Union of South African Students (Nusas).** NUSAS itself changed quite dramatically following the critique of and exit from NUSAS by the Black Consciousness Movement at the end of the 1960s. Forced by the BCM to confront its own racism, NUSAS spent two confused years debating its role. However in the early 1970s it began organising black workers through its "Wages Commissions". In the early years of the new democratic trade unions, white students were able to get away with things for which black workers would have been imprsioned, and they played an important role in early consolidation of these unions.

In the process, NUSAS itself was radicalised. It was transformed from a comfortable liberal talking shop into a much more radical force on the white English-speaking campuses. Inevitably it lost support amongst the largely conservative English speaking students, and a number of campuses disaffiliated. But in general NUSAS became a much more effective organisation. Since the early 1970s its main activities have been to provide technical support to the emerging black trade unions, education campaigns amongst white students in suport of mass demands, and the publication of South Africa's most informative newspaper on the struggle against apartheid and community related issues, SASPU National. These have all had some impact, and, particularly in the new democratic trade unions, whites have often played a signficant role out of proportion to their numbers — drawing renewed strong criticism from the new Black Consciousness organisations.

NUSAS also has played an important part in the resistance to conscription in apartheid's army. It forms part of the coalition known as End Conscription Campaign (ECC). The anti-conscription movement has struck a chord in an important minority of white youth not prepared to fight for apartheid. The ECC has claimed that 40% of the white youths called up for military service in January 1986 did not report for duty — though the government disputes this figure. Nevertheless the growing support for the ECC has clearly worried the high command of the South African Defence Force which regularly attacks the movement as "subversive" and "unpatriotic"

Taking over the townships

In September 1984 South Africa exploded. In January 1985 the ANC called on the black majority to make the black townships ungovernable, and the apartheid state now confronts an apparently uncontrollable urban uprising. The youth are in the forefront of this revolt. In many ways it was the development of youth organisations which helped spark the uprising.The desperate courage of unarmed youths confronting heavily armed concentrations of police and soldiers in armoured cars, defying bullets, tear gas, whips with jeers and stones, has stunned the world.

The television images of the revolt in the streets show young people battling the police. More than half of the 1,600 people killed since late 1984 were children — the youngest victim was two month old Trocia Ndlovu, asphyxiated by tear gas at Mamelodi — and nearly two thirds of the thousands detained under the regime's State of Emergency were younger than 25. In 1985, 12 political detainees died in police cells. Three of these were younger than 17 and another four had not yet turned 21.

In 1984 COSAS began a campaign for democratic Students' Representative Councils in every school, and an end to sexual harrassment and corporal punishment. These demands for self-determination began to address the broader question of political power. At the same time, learning from the 1976 uprising and the successes of the 1980 school boycott, COSAS was building closer links between students and workers and particularly with the trade unions. The formation of the UDF and consolidation of organisational links at all levels clearly assisted this process, but it went beyond the minority of unions which had affiliated to the UDF. The total support of the trade unions for the stay away called by COSAS in the Vaal triangle in November 1984 ensured that almost 90% of the workforce in South Africa's industrial heartland struck work.

This marked a crucial step forward and an emerging pattern of cooperation for the months which followed — one seen very clearly in the organised boycotts of white stores in numerous areas of the country in 1985. A worker-student alliance had begun to take root in the black community. The formation in 1984 of the Youth Congresses helped take this process forward. When the newly formed **Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)** called for a one day general strike on May Day 1986, in addition to the one million workers who stayed away from

work, a million and a half black school children boycotted school in support!!

In January 1985 when the ANC called on the black majority to make South Africa "ungovernable", it was this army of youth who responded. Under their new slogan of "Liberation Now!-Education Later!" black students across South Africa boycotted schools throughout 1984. Calling themselves the comrades, they led the attacks on people seen to be collaborating with the regime, drove the Local Authority Councillors and the black police out of the townships, confronted the police and army, and organised the funerals.

The pent up anger against apartheid exploded into a combination of desperate courage and great violence. The comrades showed little mercy to people seen to be collaborating with the regime — the "necklace" of a gasoline-soaked burning tire emerged as the grisly symbol of their fate. In very many areas there was clear evidence of some kind of rudimentary military training being given to the organised youth — the production of molotov cocktails, preparation of anti-tank trenches, widespread theft of guns and grenades from the security forces — and rudimentary forms of military organisation also seemed to be emerging. At the mass funerals the sight of youth wearing the uniform of the ANC Youth League and carrying wooden rifles, marching under the ANC flag became common.

The response of the state was brutal. Hundreds were shot dead, and thousands more detained and tortured. Nearly a quarter of all political detainees were members of COSAS, and in August the organization was banned.

The destruction of the apartheid administrative structures pointed to a clear need for alternatives. Since mid 1984 there has been a slow but gathering proliferation of "street committees", "peoples courts", "crisis in education committees" and civic associations. Today, these new structures are to be found in very many townships right across the country, including some of the bantustans.

The first **street committees** emerged in the township of Cradock in the Eastern Cape.and spread to the Transvaal in 1985. The youth congresses played a leading role in their formation. According to Mike Seloane of the Mamelodi Youth Organisation: *"some elements highjacked their struggle for their own ends"*, extorting money from residents in the name of COSAS, *"We decided to launch an operation clean-up in June [1985] to weed out criminals and hooligans using the political struggle for their own ends"*. When the state suspended garbage collection in an effort to break a rent strike; *"we included garbage collection in the clean-up operation and soon we engaged in a house to house campaign to get people to isolate the police and administration. We tried to persuade people not to pay rent or lay any charge at the police station. This resulted in the formation of people's courts to deal with petty crime. But this also led to other elements using the courts to settle personal feuds. . . .It was then that we hit on the idea of setting up street committees to deal with problems affecting a particular street"*.

These embryonic structures of popular power reflect a recognition of the need for tighter discipline and organisation. This is seen most clearly in the change in the students' slogan from "Liberation Now! Education Later" to "People's Education for Peoples' Power". **A National Education Crisis Conference (NECC)** held in March 1986 decided that students should return to school and begin the struggle for "peoples education" and "shift the balance of educational power, beginning by establishing a people's authority alongside the existing state authority". Crisis in Education Committees have been formed in most areas, coordinated by a national "Peoples Education Secretariat" set up by the NECC. In many schools throughout South Africa, working with the majority of sympathetic teachers, students are beginning to impose their own syllabus on the state run schools, and their elected Councils now have an increasing say in the running of schools.

Through such structures basic administrative functions are carried out in the townships, and activists make the connection between local and national issues. By mid 1986 the consolidation of these alternative structures, development of "no go" areas for the police in some townships , and appearance of effective national coordination of popular organisation around key issues all posed a fundamental threat to the power of the apartheid state. All student, community and trade union groups supported a call for a general strike to commemorate the 10th Anniversary of the start of the Soweto uprising on June 16. The State responded by declaring a national State of Emergency giving itself sweeping powers. With the total news black out now imposed across the country it is very difficult to assess what is really hapening.

The youth in exile

The situation in South Africa today is clearly at a crossroads. The regime can no longer govern effectively and has no political response to the crisis it confronts. Yet the resistance has far from won, and still confronts the overwhelming military might of apartheid's security forces.

Perhaps the crucial factor in this situation is now military — the capacity of the banned ANC to strike effectively against the apartheid police and army. Here too the youth play a crucial role. The suppression of the 1976 Soweto uprising sent approximately 10,000 young blacks into exile, many of them to the ANC's military wing, **uMKhonto we Sizwe (MK)**. By 1977 they were beginning to return to South Africa. The steady escalation of the ANC's military actions also reflects the role of this African youth.

But the role of the youth in exile goes far beyond the MK guerillas. As a non-racial national liberation organisation open to all South African democrats, the ANC is a microcosm of the future South Africa. It takes this role extremely seriously. One index of this is the organisation's continued principled refusal to gain easy popularity through terrorist attacks on its white compatriots. Another is the development by the ANC of the embryonic forms of the democratic education envisaged in the Education Charter. At its **Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (SOMAFCO)** in Morogoro Tanzania — named after an ANC guerilla of the 1976 generation executed in 1978 — the ANC has built an impressive educational institution providing for the educational needs of exiled children, youth and adults, and the blue print for the new South African schools after liberation.

Here at SOMAFCO is being implemented the kind of education envisaged by South Africa's embattled black youth in their call for 'PEOPLE'S EDUCATION FOR PEOPLE'S POWER"

 This is from a kit called **South Africa on the Move**, available from CUSO, ECSA desk, 135 Rideau St., Ottawa, Ont. K1N 9K7.

WOMEN

You have struck a rock!

Apartheid imposes a numbing range of burdens on Black, and especially African women in South Africa. Subjected to pass laws, forced removals, barren settlement camps, dismembered families, slave-like wages and all the political repression of the apartheid state, black women are dumped, quite literally, at the very bottom of South Africa's rigid social hierarchy. Their position is sometimes referred to as "triple oppression" — black women are oppressed as blacks, as workers and as women.

Apartheid is based on a series of economic, social, political and gender relations designed by the state to produce cheap labour and high profits. Since this system first began to evolve in the late 19th Century, women have been forced by the state to play perhaps the pivotal role in keeping the whole cheap labour structure functioning.

Building apartheid on the backs of women

For decades, the very high rates of profit made possible by apartheid have rested on the migrant labour system. African peasants were forcibly deprived of their land after 1913 and confined to overcrowded, worked-out and fragmented "Native Reserves" comprising just 13% of South Africa. A system of stiff taxes was then imposed on every African family. By these means, the South African state destroyed the economic independence of African cultivators and forced them into wage labour. But the Pass Laws and official Labour Bureaux which strictly controlled the movement of Africans out of the "Reserves" (later commonly known as the Bantustans) ensured that it was largely men who migrated from the rural areas to work the white-owned mines, farms and factories. In the words of one apartheid Minister, these men were nothing but "labour units" imported into the white areas to "minister to the needs" of whites.

The movement of women into the "white" cities was even more strictly controlled. The apartheid system labelled African women as "superfluous appendages" to the male "labour units," and allowed them out of the Bantustans only if there was a specific demand for women workers. For decades, most African women were compelled to remain in the rural slums of the bantustans, scratching a living for themselves and their children from the worked-out land.

The low wage structure of South Africa was built on this system. White employers and the state claimed that the male migrant workers were "temporary sojourners" whose families supported themselves through agricultural production in the bantustans. This meant that for nearly a century, unorganised male migrant workers were paid wages barely sufficient to feed themselves in the cities — and totally inadequate to provide for their wives and children in the rural slums of the bantustans.

MARGIE BRUUN-MEYER

In the 20th Century this apartheid cheap labour system has transformed South Africa into the most industrialized country in Africa. The vast profits have built gleaming cities and a high-tech, pampered life-style for white South Africans unequalled in the world. This vast edifice of white privilege has been erected on the backs of African women. African women were first required to give birth to future cheap migrant labourers and then forced into back breaking labour in the bantustans to subsidize the starvation wages paid to black male workers.

Trespassers in their own country

Since the early 1960s the apartheid regime has tried to balkanise South Africa by a massive program of forced removals, dumping the unemployed and black communities living on land zoned as "white" into the Bantustans. Over 4 million people have been moved at gun-point, often from land their families have held for generations. Most recently, attempts to move established rural communities from Driefontein and Magopa have captured international attention.

The victims of these forced removals have then been dumped in barren "resettlement camps", often lacking even access to water, far from employment centres, and built on eroded, worked-out soil, to live in tents. Here they must survive as best they may — to "adapt or die" to paraphrase President Botha's slogan to whites.

Thousands have died, particularly children. But apartheid does not keep statistics on such things. At the Limehill resettlement camp in the late 1960s, out of a previously healthy community of 5,000, over 60 people died of gastro-enteric diseases in two months. Apartheid's "Minister of Health" — himself a medical doctor — declared this a "normal" incidence of such disease. These resettlement camps have become a notorious synonym for apartheid.

The burden of forced removals has fallen heaviest on women. Firstly, in cases such as Driefontein where communities are forcibly removed from established rural settlements, it has usually been the women who have built up agricultural production whilst their men are away on migrant labour. Forced removals tear these women away from this hard built, economic viability and independence. And secondly, when communities are dumped in resettlement camps, while men try to find wage work, again it is mainly the women who must somehow scratch a living for themselves and their children.

The program of bantustanisation through forced removals has made millions of South African women trespassers in their own country, allowed back into "white" South Africa only when a white employer needs their cheap labour. Trapped in the deteriorating rural slums of the bantustans, dumped into the barren horrors of the resettlement camps, these families have had to learn how to survive under conditions of permanent famine. And women carry the heaviest burden.

"Everybody has died. My man has gone and died, as have my daughters. They took my land away. The Lord has gone — yes — I suppose he has gone also."

The lives of working women

All black women in South Africa work. Many may not be able to find paid jobs under the apartheid system but they work desperately hard nonetheless.

According to the 1980 Census, 75% of all African women did not have a paid job. This official figure conceals the hundreds of thousands of women who work "illegally" — without the necessary permission of the state — living as virtual fugitives liable to be arrested at any moment. Yet the majority of black women in South Africa are excluded from paid employment by the system.

Most of these women work at home. Their labour of maintaining households and bringing up children is absolutely vital to the economy. Women bear this burden entirely on their own shoulders. Without it, there is no workforce for white business. Particularly in the rural slums of the Bantustans, such household work is brutally hard, arduous and, with males absent working in the white cities, often extraordinarily lonely and stressful. But this economically essential "women's work" is not paid. And the lack of income is a desperate problem for many South African women.

For those black women who manage to find a job in apartheid South Africa, conditions are very poor. The main type of paid work done by women is domestic labour in white households. In 1984 there were 320,000 South Africans legally registered as domestic workers. Yet taking the large numbers of so-called "illegal" workers into account, the real number of domestic workers is at least twice as high. And certainly most of them are women.

Apartheid's education system and economic structure make it very difficult for black women to find jobs other than domestic labour. In the words of Flora Monamodi, a domestic worker from Taung in the Northern Cape:

"I wanted to become a nurse, but you can't do that with so little education. The only thing to do was housework. I looked for work around Taung but there were no jobs so I came to Johannesburg. I didn't know anyone there so I had nowhere to stay. I walked around every day looking for a job and in the night I slept anywhere. The good thing about this job is that you get somewhere to stay."

The life of a black domestic servant in a white household is tedious and tiring. Work starts as early as 6 am and may last until 9 at night. Only Thursday and Sunday afternoons are "the girls day off", when white South Africa eats in restaurants rather than at home. A domestic servant's work always includes cleaning, washing, ironing, cooking as well as looking after children. Live-in domestics are always on call. They can be asked to babysit, make tea, do urgent shopping, and stay to clean up after late night dinner parties, even when they are not on duty.

Wages for women domestic servants are desperately low, and vary widely according to whether or not a woman is lucky enough to find "a good baas". Often these wages have to provide for a whole family. Live-in domestics are confined to the usually small and cramped "girls" room at the back. These women hardly ever see their families — whom apartheid does not even allow to live in the same city — and must make arrangements with other women (usually their own aged mothers) to care for their children. Eldah Mthuludi has two children and permanent worries:

"I am getting R65 [approx. Cdn.$34] every month. I can't save any money because I send most of it home [to the bantustan], and my mother and children can't live on what I send them — they are starving. I have this husband but he is useless. I don't know what he does with his money but I never see it".

For many years the only other kind of paid work available to black women in South Africa was on white-owned farms. Today, for women in the rural areas there is often no alternative to farm labour. Official figures speak of 300,000 legally registered women farm workers in 1981. The real figure is probably much higher. Farm workers are South Africa's lowest paid workers. Most women farm labourers are often migrant workers employed on a daily or seasonal basis as casual labour during points of high labour demand in the farming cycle.

The apartheid state has tried very hard to channel labour to its farms. But conditions are so notoriously bad on the farms that most black workers will do anything to avoid working there. Once a worker's Pass Book is stamped "farm labourer" it is illegal for them to take any other kind of employment for the rest of their lives. And because the apartheid system controls the movement of women more rigidly than men, hundreds of thousands are trapped into farm labour.

The conditions they face are horrifying. Average farm wages in South Africa vary widely from region to region. But nowhere does the value of average wages in cash and kind for all farm workers exceed R145 a month (Cdn$75) and is often as low as R65 ($34). But women routinely earn much less. On average, women farm labourers work for 60

to 70 hours a week. There is no limit to the time they may have to work without a break and no overtime pay. Farm labour (like domestic labour) is explicitly exempted from even the meagre industrial legislation apartheid has erected to regulate working conditions. In some areas of the Northern Transvaal in 1980, women and children worked on tomato farms for no pay other than tomatoes, whilst women seasonal workers on cotton and citrus farms earned between R0.30 and R0.80 (Cdn$0.16 to 0.45) a day with no income out of season.

According to official figures, just over 500,000 African women work in industry and commerce. Again taking "illegals" into account the real number is much higher. In these sectors women are almost entirely confined to unskilled low paid jobs. The "traditional" sectors of women's industrial employment have been in those areas of the most routine assembly work — such as food sorting and textiles — or of supposedly "women's skills" such as the sweat shops of the garment industry. Though the wages earned by black women in industry and commerce are lower than male wages, and as much as ten times lower than the earnings of white supervisors, their wages are much better than those for domestic or farm labour. In the Transvaal textile industry in 1984 the minimum starting wage for a general worker was R36 ($19) a week rising to R122 ($60) a week for a qualified pattern maker. These relatively higher wages are the main reason so many rural women come to the cities to work as "illegals".

Women industrial workers face their own particular problems. Sexual harassment is one of them. In the words of one woman:

"When you reach the factory you find the induna (foreman) and you ask him [for a job]. If you like the job the induna will tell you that you must sleep with him before you get that job. And you've got no choice. You want to work and your children are starving in Soweto. So some women sleep with those men. Some women sleep with the bosses because they want more money or easier work. They do it because they want to live, not because they are mad or what."

These women also have to work the "double shift" — domestic labour in their own household after the long journey back to the black townships from the "white" cities at the end of the day. In apartheid South Africa, black working women have access to almost none of the domestic services taken for granted in Western countries. At home most will have neither electricity nor basic labour saving domestic implements and will have to cook and warm water on a wood fire. This is still "women's work", and generates a mixture of resignation and resentment well summed up by one woman "worker".

"My husband he just took. He is reading the paper while I cook. He says he is tired. I am also tired, but I must cook. I am used to it because it is our custom".

Fighting back

South African women have always fought back against this system. Often this resistance has been at everyday levels, seemingly mundane struggles for survival, independence and hope — levels that are not usually noticed in histories of formal organisations like trade unions and political groups.

The role of women in the militant **South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU)** in the 1950s was crucial to building the union movement. The biggest SACTU unions, the two Food and Canning Workers' unions, were based mainly on women workers, and the largely female FCWU leadership was a vital force in SACTU nationally.

With the re-emergence of militant trade unionism in the late 1970s women workers again played important roles in building up the union movement. But they often had to overcome both the opposition of their husbands and the sexism of their male co-workers. Lydia Kompe is Transvaal Branch Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union. Discussing the development of the Union she says:

"Sometimes [after union meetings] it was too late to go home and I'd sleep with friends. That made him [her husband] very unhappy and it made our life very miserable. He couldn't see why I was involved in this. He was scared that I'd be in politics and land in jail. He thought that I was making excuses about meetings when I was going out. . .

At Heineman we had six women shop stewards out of 12. This was because we insisted and our organiser, Khubeka, supported us. But our chairman was a man. During meetings we tried to fight the undermining of women's suggestions. They thought we were not saying strategic things. But we managed to fight that. If a woman stands up and puts a motion or a suggestion it should be taken into consideration.

We succeeded at Heineman because women outnumbered men. Women took the lead when we were on strike. They weren't scared even when the police were trying to thrash us and scare us with dogs. I think that's when men realised that women too can be determined".

Since the late 1970s the **Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (CCAWUSA)** has grown into one of the most effective trade unions in South Africa. A majority of its 30,000 members are women. In 1984 CCAWU made an historic breakthrough by obliging the country's largest retail chain to sign South Africa's first agreement guaranteeing paid maternity leave to women workers. CCAWU was also an important force in the formation in late 1985 of the new "super federation" of democratic unions with 500,000 members — the **Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU).**

Women have also played a crucial role in the overall organised resistance to apartheid. The first mass campaign against the pass laws was organised by women in the Orange Free State in 1913. The hated pass laws which control the movement of Africans — and affect women most severely of all — have always provided a major impetus for the organisation of women.

The increased repression of the 1950s provoked a coming together of various groups to form the **Federation of South African Women (FSAW)** in 1954. FSAW was formed to combat forms of exploitation and oppression which particularly affected women, whilst simultaneously mobilising women for the broader liberation struggle against apartheid. It argued from the start that although what was then called "the emancipation of women" would have to involve organisation and struggle by women themselves, such emancipation was inconceivable without the abolition of apartheid and the creation of a democratic

state in South Africa. This perspective was embodied in FSAW's **Women's Charter** adopted in 1954, and still underpins the perspective of most women's organisations in South Africa today.

The anti-pass campaigns organised by FSAW in the 1950s mobilised innumerable women. An illegal march of 20,000 women on Prime Minister Strijdom's office on 9 August 1956 coined the famous slogan: "Strijdom, when you struck the women, you struck a rock. You will be crushed." August 9 has been observed as South African Women's day ever since.

The Women's Section of the **African National Congress (ANC)** was the major group in FSAW. The growing militancy of women's anti-pass struggles, led by FSAW, provided a crucial catalyst for the emergence of a broader mass resistance under the ANC later in the decade.

With the wave of repression of the 1960s, including the banning of the ANC, hundreds of women activists were jailed, restricted or forced into exile. While FSAW was never formally banned, it was effectively prevented from holding meetings and carrying on other activities. The development of the **Black Women's Federation** which emerged in the mid 1970s was halted when it was banned in 1977. Yet effective women's organisations began to emerge as the core of growing community struggles in the late 1970s.

The state stepped up its campaign of forced removals and the destruction of squatter camps. Again women bore the brunt. But now they organised themselves at places like Crossroads and Magopa to resist these removals. Through a tapestry of victories and defeats this emerging organisation of women again provided the major impetus for the development of strong community organisations in the late 1970s.

This upsurge of local organisation gave birth to broader women's groups. FSAW re-emerged in the early 1980s, based mainly in the Transvaal Province. In the Cape Province the ongoing struggles around the Crossroads squatter camp crystallised the formation in 1981 of the **United Women's Organisation (UWO)**, and the **Natal Organisation of Women** was formed in that province.

These new groups have concentrated on specific community issues — the UWO chose "Child Care" and "High Prices" — on particular campaigns such as the Transvaal campaign against the harmful Depo Provero contraceptive, and on involving women in "the broader struggle". Support from groups like the UWO has been very important in galvanising community solidarity in a number of important strikes for the right to organise. Women's organisations like the UWO played an important mobilising role in the formation in August 1983 of a new umbrella political organisation, the **United Democratic Front (UDF)**, embracing over 500 organisations with two million members.

The intense politicisation of black communities in South Africa in the last 15 years has seen many women leave the country to join **mKhonto we Sizwe**, the military wing of the ANC. Women guerillas have been sent back into the country as part of the ANC's armed struggle. The politicisation of women and the re-emergence of a strong women's organisation has caused much debate in the ANC on the role of women, and some guarded self-criticism by its leadership. ANC President Oliver Tambo told the 1981 Conference of the ANC Women's Section:

"We should stop pretending that women in our movement have the same opportunities as men. . . On the other hand, women should stop behaving as if there was no place for them above the level of certain categories of involvement. They have a duty to liberate us men from antique concepts and attitudes about the place and role of women in society. . . The struggle to conquer oppression in our country is [made] the weaker by the traditionalist, conservative and primitive restraints imposed on women by man-dominated structures within our movement, and also because of equally traditionalist attitudes of surrender and submission on the part of women".

Until all women are involved

In apartheid South Africa, these mainly black women's organisations have reached their own definition of feminism. This involves a particular concentration on women's issues, engaging women to fight for themselves, engaging men in the struggle for "equality", but doing so always as an integral part of the broader struggle against "the system" of apartheid. As FSAW has put it:

"In the labour area, black women are exploited as women and as blacks; issues such as maternity leave and equal pay are crucial. . . Men have to be made aware of the problems facing women and must accept us as equals. Awareness among rural women must also be increased and the FSAW can do this through organising in such regions. . . But women should be involved in all issues affecting the people, such as the civic issues of housing rent and education".

In June 1984 a FSAW workshop met to look at the roots of women's oppression and ways to deal with this issue in women's groups and in the broader political arena. The women at the workshop emphasised that women's organisations are part of the national liberation struggle, but often found it difficult to draw women into organisations:

"We need women's organisations because of the special problems that we face as women. In our separate women's groups we can talk about all these things. Because women are not taught to be in competition with each other, we can talk easily to each other. We can look at how women see themselves, why they think we are weak, and we can learn to have confidence in ourselves and our abilities.

In our groups we can share our problems. A problem shared is a problem cut in half. When we come together to discuss our problems, we also learn that talk is not just gossip but leads to action. In our groups we can educate ourselves about the struggles in our country. This we can use to teach our children.

We, as mothers, are the first teachers of our children. We are the ones teaching future generations. We can use our work with other organisations to make sure that we know all there is to know about our struggle and our situation. Without getting this knowledge for ourselves we cannot hope to educate our children in a responsible way. Nor will we be able to teach other women.

We need a women's organisation so that we can teach our men that women are not babies, that they should respect us and understand that we also have a role to play in the struggle. This struggle will never be won until all the women are involved as well."

 This is from a kit called **South Africa on the Move**, available from CUSO, ECSA desk, 135 Rideau St., Ottawa, Ont. K1N 9K7.

TRADE UNIONS

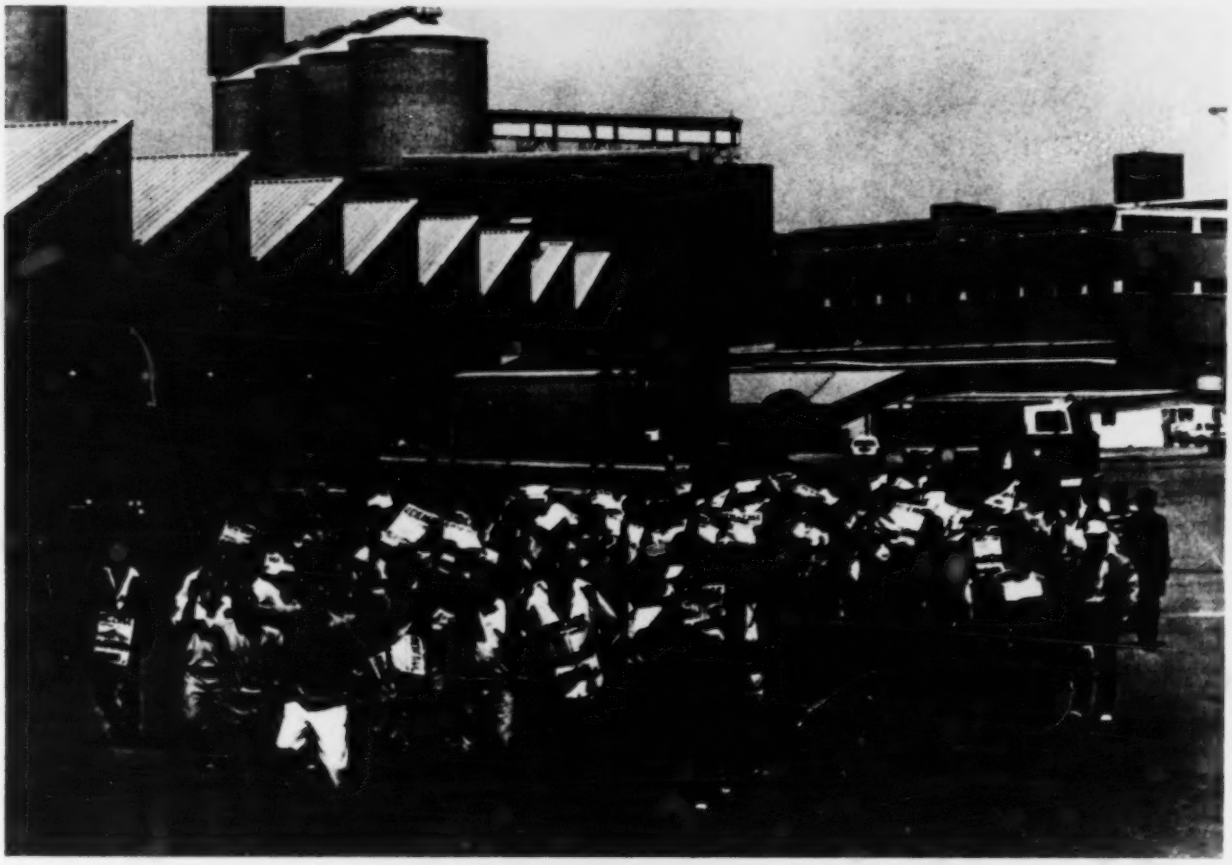
Working in a South African mine

Imagine the noise and vibrations of an ordinary road drill. Then imagine using one of these lying on your back, in a confined space maybe three feet high, as much as 12,000 feet underground, in temperatures reaching 50 degrees Centigrade . . . Without ear plugs, breathing in the constant dust throughout a minimum 8 hour shift, six days a week, with the white baas shouting at you, knowing that a rock-burst can kill you at any moment — as it has done to over 50,000 people doing your job over the past eighty years, and as it will do to at least 500 more this year.

You know of course that if you stay on this job for more than three years you are virtually certain to contract miner's tsisis — a deadly lung disease that will shorten your life by maybe twenty years. You are resigned to the fact that your hearing is being destroyed by the noise of the drills, that the draughts in the mine cause severe pneumonia or bronchial complaints and that the unrelieved stress of your job can lead to later heart problems. You are worried but you have no options. There are maybe 4 million unemployed people in your country, and millions more in neighbouring countries who would take your job. You have to feed your family — whom you haven't seen for a year because the apartheid system forces them to stay in the bantustan. And without the money you send them each month they would probably starve.

You ponder these things during the up to two hour wait for the rickety cage which hauls you up two miles to the earth's surface. Then you walk to your tribally-segregated, males-only compound where you live with thousands of your colleagues, never seeing your family for your 18 month contract, not allowed into the "white man's" town, barricaded in the compound. On Sunday you may take what entertainment you can find in the compounds or maybe risk a visit to a "shebeen" [illegal bar] in one of the black "townships".

Imagine that if, like the majority of your colleagues you have been doing this job all your adult life you have the



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small consolation that in the past twelve years your wages have gone up. At least you no longer face the daily galling knowledge that in 1972 you earned less each day than the men who did your job in 1895, while the mining companies declared profits of hundreds of millions of dollars (Rand to you) each year. But you know that the higher wages of the last ten years were earned through bitter struggle. You remember the Anglo American Corporation calling in the police who shot dead eleven of your colleagues during the big strike at Carletonville in 1973. You remember this supposedly "liberal" company firing 14,000 workers at one swoop in 1985, and the 25,000 fired one day by Gencor at the beginning of 1986. You know that although Anglo is the richest of the bosses, all the four big conglomerates who control the mining industry have their own "paramilitary" forces equipped with helicopters and "riot control" equipment.

As you sit on your narrow bed, trying to ignore the noise of the other 12 men with whom you share your room, you think that the $120 a month you earn for doing this work is maybe a tenth of what white miners earn and although you do most of the real mining work, you are still not allowed the "blasting certificate" which signifies a skilled worker. This galls because you hate the arrogant racism of these white miners, many of whom now carry guns and knives to work. You know that without the desperately cheap labour provided by the millions of black migrant labourers who have worked in your job over the last ninety years, there would be no industry, no white farms, no rich cities, and no luxurious living for your white compatriots. But under apartheid you can never aspire to such things.

If you imagine these things, you get some idea of the life of a black miner in South Africa. You can imagine the anger, the fear, the despair. Now imagine too that these black miners are beginning to hope! In the last four years they have built themselves an instrument to fight back — their trade union. In four short years, the 220,000 strong National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) has developed into South Africa's largest and one of its most militant unions. Under its slogan "An Injury to One is an Injury to All" the mineworkers, like more than a million of apartheid's workers, are now fighting back.

A proud tradition

Black workers in South Africa have a long and proud history of democratic trade unionism.

In the 1920's the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU) organised over 100,000 urban and rural workers until it was destroyed by internal dissension and the Great Depression. A new wave of militant trade unionism in the 1940 saw over 100 unions with over 150,000 members affiliated to the Council of Non-European Trade Unions (CNETU). Though weakened by repression following the historic 1946 strike of 70,000 African Mineworkers, the CNETU unions played a crucial role in radicalising the politics of the African National Congress (ANC).

In the early 1950s the apartheid state launched a strong attack on democratic trade unions. The regime's Minister of Labour declared his determination to "bleed to death" non-racial or black trade unions. Thirty-three leading trade unionists were banned. In 1955 the surviving CNETU unions joined with other democratic unions to form the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU).

SACTU was a new kind of trade union centre. A militant federation firmly committed to non-racialism, it organised workers of all races in defiance of apartheid's attempts to divide them by race. And secondly, SACTU represented a militantly "political" trade unionism. Adopting the slogan "An Injury to One is an Injury to All", SACTU argued that:

" . . . the organising of the mass of workers for higher wages, better conditions of life and labour is inextricably bound up with a determined struggle for political rights and liberation from all oppressive laws and practices. It follows that a mere struggle for the economic rights of all the workers without participation in the general struggle for political emancipation would condemn the trade union movement to uselessness and to a betrayal of the interests of the workers"

SACTU became part of the ANC-led Congress Alliance in the 1950s. It fought a protracted miminum wage campaign and later was involved in the organisation of mass political strikes called by the Congress Alliance.

The extreme repression unleashed by the apartheid state in the 1960s effectively crippled SACTU. Its officials and members were systematically banned or imprisoned until the organisation could no longer function legally inside South Africa, and it was forced into exile.

Coming back from the cold: the new trade union movement

This extreme repression destroyed non-racial, democratic trade unionism for a decade. However the wave of strikes which swept South Africa in 1972-3 created the groundswell for the emergence of a newer and stronger democratic trade unionism. By 1975, 20,000 black workers were organised in new unions. This grew to 100,000 in 1980 and close to 700,000 at the end of 1985.

This time however the national liberation movement and all effective black political organisations were banned, and a slightly different pattern of unionism emerged. The South African economy is highly regionalised. Specific industries are concentrated in particular geographic areas of the country. The way in which the migrant labour system developed also gave a differing structure to the black labour force in the four major industrial centres of the country.

This meant that when democratic trade unions began to emerge again in the 1970s, their primary base was local. Given the different nature of the workforce in the various industrial centres, important regional differences marked the new unions. Yet there were also important common themes.

By the end of the 1970s a strong organised base had been established in all the major industrial areas. A major attempt was made to unite the existing unions. These were only partially successful. After protracted negotiations two new trade union centres emerged in 1979-80. The non-racial Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) was committed to industrial, non-racial trade unions. It had a strong base in Natal, the Vaal Triangle and part of the Eastern Cape. By 1981 its affiliated unions had 94,000 paid-up members in the metal and engineering sector, in automative products, textiles, paper and wood, food,

transport, and chemical industries. The Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA), was committed to "black control". Based mainly in the Transvaal, it claimed 49,000 paid-up members in the building, dry cleaning, chemical, food, transport and engineering sectors. CUSA affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). In the Cape Town and East London areas two very important general unions emerged, namely the General Workers' Union (GWU) — 10,000 paid-up members in 1982, predominantly dockworkers — and South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU), with probably 15,000 paid-up members. As the only SACTU union to survive the repression of the 1960s, the Food and Canning Workers' Union (FCWU) also grew rapidly during this period.

ORGANISATIONAL ACRONYMS

ANC African National Congress of South Africa
AZACTU Azanian Congress of Trade Unions, did not join COSATU
CCWUSA Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa, in COSATU
COSAS Congress of South African Students — secondary school students, banned in August 1985
COSATU Congress of South African Trade Unions
CUSA Council of Unions of South Africa, did not join COSATU
FAWU Food and Allied Workers Unions, new COSATU consolidated union
FCWU Food and Canning Workers' Union — joined COSATU, now merged into FAWU
FOSATU Federation of South African Trade Unions — since dissolved into COSATU
GWU General Workers' Union — joined COSATU, and since merged with other transport unions to form the Tranport and General Workers' Union
NUM National Union of Mineworkers, formerly in CUSA, now in COSATU
SAAWU South African Allied Worker' Union — joined COSATU
SACTU South African Congress of Trade Unions
TGWU Transport and General Workers Union, new COSATU consoldiated union
UDF United Democratic Front

Though faced with repressive measures by the state — particularly against SAAWU — the democratic trade union movement continued to grow. By the end of 1985, their combined paid up membership was over 600,000. In November 1985, the majority of these unions joined together to form a new federation with over 500,000 paid up members, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU — see below).

Dealing with the issues

The emerging trade unions of the 1970s placed a central emphasis on internal, shop floor democracy. The unions were to be controlled by the workers rather than paid officials. Officials are given specific mandates by the membership and may not go beyond these without going back to the workers. A network of shop stewards emerged as the central structure of this factory floor democracy.

This democratic control of the union by the workers themselves was a central focus of the steady efforts to rebuild the black trade unions. Until the end of the 1970s, local struggles around wages and working conditions were firmly linked to the major political demand of the new trade unions — the right to organise!

Other crucial themes also received attention. Under the existing exploitative system black women workers confront a "triple shift" of paid employment, housework and the sexual demands of her husband (or boss). Black women in South Africa are exploited as blacks, as workers and as women. The trade unions themselves have not always been models of equality in this regard. Lydia Kompe is the Transvaal Branch Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union. She describes the problems confronting women trade unionists:

"Not only is it dangerous for a woman to attend meetings late at night, but she also knows that when she gets home she will find everything as she left it. Her husband will be sitting idle. And he might not believe she's been in a meeting — he will accuse her of going around. This makes her retreat. She doesn't want to lose her family for the union even if she's committed to it. So the organisation becomes weakened. The people who weaken it are those who say they are committed but don't see the need to assist in the liberation of women . . . We've got unions where the majority of members are women. But why have we not seen a woman as chairperson of one of these unions? And where are the women presidents?"

This issue began to be confronted by the new trade unions, particulary inside FOSATU. They have met with a mixed response. According to one senior shop steward:

"If a woman says we must uplift them they must realise there are certain jobs they cannot do — and there are some men cannot do. I mean no-one can expect me to take a baby and look after it . . . And for me to do the washing? If you look at the factories you will find there are some jobs a woman cannot do"

Yet according to another male shop steward:

"We say we are the oppressed nation, but women are more oppressed. They go to work and then start again at home . . . .[We should] also carry the child. After all it's the man's child also. We should also appeal to the bosses — pregnant women's jobs must be protected. If not we are oppressing our women — and some time they'll chuck us out. Then we will cry! So its high time we showed the bosses we're equal."

The emergence of the debate inside the democratic unions over the position of women workers coincided with growing struggles for equal pay and maternity benefits. In 1983 the 50,000 strong Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (CCAWUSA) obliged South Africa's largest retail chain to sign the country's first maternity benefits agreement. Women who become pregnant after working for the company for three months are now entitled to:

— up to 12 months leave with a guaranteed job on return to work;
— varying degrees of medical aid cover while women are off work;
— while still working, no pregnant woman will be expected to engage in tasks which could potentially endanger her health;

IMPACT VISUALS

— pension benefits will be retained during absence from work.

This historic agreement was won by organised black women workers (the General-Secretary of CCAWUSA is a woman). But all women employees of the company will benefit, including white women. The CCAWUSA agreement provides a model for future struggles around the specific demands of women workers.

Defining strategy and tactics

The rapid growth of the democratic unions and the way in which the apartheid state tried to control them, prompted a series of important debates between the unions. Though sometimes very sharp, these debates reflect the dynamism of the new democratic union movment and have done much to define its strategy and tactics.

The first of these debates was over REGISTRATION. The growth of militant trade unionism in the 1970s worried both employers and the apartheid state. The 1979 report of the Wiehahn Commission on labour legislation concluded that the 30 year-old policy of trying to "bleed to death" black unions had failed. The regime adopted Wiehahn's recommendation that the militancy of the new unions now be contained by admitting them to the tightly controlled official industrial relations structure which had destroyed trade union militancy among white workers.

This cooptation attempt provoked a sharp but short debate over whether or not the unions should register under the apartheid regime's Labour Relations Amendment Act. Many unions registered, others did not. Yet despite important differences between them, the apartheid state failed completely in this attempt to inhibit the democratic trade unions. Likewise the entrance of two FOSATU unions into the tripartite official INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS did not have the effect intended by the regime — to weaken shop floor democracy, militancy and non-racialism.

By the end of the 1970s, many unions were playing an important role in local COMMUNITY POLITICS. Strikes in bread factories (1979), at Ford (1979), the meat industry (1980), Wilson-Roundtree (1981-2) and others showed how industrial disputes could mobilise local communities, and boycott campaigns by black consumers developed into an important weapon in strikes. Arguing that the working class had interests going beyond the factory, most of the general workers unions -particularly GWU and SAAWU — combined a strategy of mobilising community support for workers in struggle with one of mobilising its members to campaign on local political issues. SAAWU's campaign against the sham independence of the Ciskei bantustan provoked a savage response by the apartheid state. Other unions, most notably those in FOSATU, opposed what it called "community-based unions", arguing that the primary task of the new unions was to consolidate factory floor organisation in industrial unions and that "you can't fight the state and the employers at the same time".

This debate over community involvement was often in-

tense. It often spilled over into arguments over the POLITICAL ROLE of the democratic unions in the struggle against apartheid. The exiled SACTU sent cadres into South Africa to argue in all unions that the "economic" struggles of workers must be connected to the liberation struggle. Drawing explicitly on the SACTU tradition, some unions argued that unions had to involve themselves in broader political struggles, forging alliances with other groups. FOSATU on the other hand took the position in 1982 that while the democratic trade unions had an explicitly political role, they should not link themselves with what it called "populist" struggles against apartheid as this held out the danger that "the popular movement" might be "highjacked by elements who in the end will have no option but to turn against their worker supporters".

This debate was given a concrete focus with the formation in August 1983 of the United Democratic Front (UDF) to resist the "new constitution" proposed by the apartheid state. A number of unions affiliated to the UDF, arguing that workers had to be involved in political struggles. SAAWU was the most prominent exponent of this line. CUSA also affiliated to the UDF — as well as to the smaller, Black Consciousness-oriented National Forum. But most of the unions — particularly the GWU and those affiliated to FOSATU, stayed out. They arued that the multi-class base of the UDF and the way in which it was structured would inhibit trade union participation. They also argued that the membership of the trade unions was drawn from diverse political backgrounds, and the unions themselves could not afford to affiliate to the generally pro-ANC UDF — although they would cooperate with it and urge their membership to involve themselves in UDF campaigns.

The savage repression of the regime helped the unions begin to transcend some of their differences on this issue. They supported and defended each other when attacked by the state. The escalation of forced removals, destruction of squatter camps and imposition of a new racist constitution on South Africa all helped galvanise unions beyond workplace struggles. In November 1984 the organised support of FOSATU and CUSA was crucial to the stunning success of a 2-day political strike organised in the Transvaal by the UDF's largest affiliate, the Congress of South African Students (COSAS). Over 90% of the workforce in the Vaal triangle industrial heartland stayed away from work. Though this successful cooperation between unions and community groups in the stay at home was not fully repeated in a later attempt in the Eastern Cape, a new form of direct cooperation has emerged in the highly succesful boycott of white retail outlets organised by trade unions and community groups in 1985. The differences over political tactics were being overcome. This strengthened the momentum for unity.

Despite often sharp debates between the democratic unions, there was also always a strong impulse towards UNITY. This was reflected in strong solidarity between unions in specific struggles and when attacked by the state. The first "unity" meeting of August 1981 — largely organised by Neil Aggett of the FCWU, later murdered in police custody — was followed by just over four years of difficult negotiations before COSATU was formed.

The issues at the heart of these protracted discussions included: what kind of unity — loose or tightly disciplined; the structure of the new "Superfederation"; how to structure workers' control in democratic decision making; demarcation between existing unions; general as opposed to industrial unions; and the problem of political involvement. The discussions were turbulent. For a while it looked as if the unions affiliated to the UDF would be excluded. Towards the end of the negotiations CUSA withdrew from the process over the acceptance by all other participants of the principle of non-racialism — provoking the disaffiliation from CUSA of its most important affiliate, the 220,000 strong National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), which joined COSATU. The small and newly formed black consciousness-orieinted Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (AZACTU) joined in the unity talks towards the end, but left on the same issue as CUSA.

But at the end of 1985 33 unions with a paid up membership of 558,000 joined together to form the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU).

COSATU: "A giant is born"

The formation in November 1985 of COSATU was an enormous advance at a number of levels.

The first is in terms of numbers of organised workers. During the 1976 Soweto uprising, perhaps 20,000 workers were organised in the democratic trade unions, and these workers were largely uninvolved in the Soweto events. Their unions were still fighting desperately for simple survival and for the right to organise. Today COSATU represents over 600,000 paid-up members of democratic trade unions, with perhaps another 80-100,000 organised in CUSA and AZACTU.

This growth in numbers was built, secondly, on an extraordinary consolidation of the organisational structures of workers' control over the unions, particularly on the factory floor. The key to these structures is the shop stewards' committees. A 1983 survey found that together the democratic unions had nearly 6,000 shopstewards for a total membership of around 250,000. A further survey was made in late 1985 of 23 unions whose 323,000 members represented about 65% of total paid up membership of democratic unions. The survey found a total of 12,462 shop stewards, one for every 29 members, compared with 306 paid officials, or one per 1,186 members. The number of workplaces organised rose from 756 to 3,421.

COSATU immediately faced the need to consolidate its organisation. There was much overlap between its original 33 member unions, many of which organised in the same field. COSATU unions together already have a strong organised base in the following crucial sectors: mining, automobiles, metal and engineering, textiles, transport, retail and catering, chemicals, food, paper and printing, and local authorities. The new Federation committed itself to the principle of one national union per industry. In February 1986 its executive decided that the largest unions in 10 industrial sectors should oversee the mergers of unions organising in the same industry, and that the general unions should identify the various sectors to which their members would be re-allocated. By May 1986 COSATU's three food unions had merged into the 60,000 strong Food & Allied Workers Union (FAWU) while the two unions in the transport sector had merged to form the Transport & General Workers Union (TGWU) with 26,000 members. The

general unions had also identified the sectors into which their members will be allocated. These mergers are not always easy. Organisational rivalries, memories of past differences, and questions such as who gets to be the general secretary, are often difficult to resolve. Nevertheless, once COSATU consolidates, its influence in the major industrial sectors will be enormous, and its collective power could facilitate a rapid advance in the sectors where its organised base is still small — particularly amongst domestic, farm, construction and clerical workers.

The growing numerical strength and organised democratic base of the unions has also been translated into a clear political perspective. In 1983 there were sharp divisions among the democratic unions over their political role. Some argued "you can't fight the bosses and the state at the same time", whilst others advocated a direct involvement in political issues. Other political divisions amongst the unions separated so-called "populists" — those who urged direct trade union involvement in the struggle against apartheid — from the so-called "workerists" — who favoured purely working class organisation, perhaps moving towards the formation of a new workers party.

These divisions were often more acute at the level of leadership rather than rank and file, but were real nevertheless. However the combined weight of growing rank and file pressure for a more directly political role and the severity of state repression from the end of 1984 drew all trade unions and trade unionists directly into local political organisation and community affairs. Unions were a crucial force in the largely successful consumer boycotts. Union members have moved into important positions in Community and Civic Associations. Indeed in some townships, these Community Associations are little more than the trade union in the community. Johannesburg's Alexandra township for example — scene of some of the sharpest clashes with the police — is often described as a "union township" of the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (MAWU), whose local leadership dominate the Alexandra Action Committee.

The formation of COSATU also marked the emergence of a common sense of political direction and strategy. This largest trade union grouping ever in South Africa is based on the principles of:

— worker control
— non-racialism
— broadly-based industrial unions: one national union in each industry
— the struggle for political rights
— representation based on paid-up membership
— cooperation at the national level in the new federation

The founding congress committed COSATU to a struggle for a national minimum wage pegged to the inflation rate and to fight for the right to work and right to strike. Significantly it also declared that because women workers are exploited on the basis of sex, class and race, workers must fight all unequal and discriminatory treatment of women at work, in society, and indeed in COSATU itself.

From the outset, COSATU engaged in directly political issues. The founding congress declared overseas disinvestment campaigns an essential and effective form of pressure on the regime that must be supported. It issued an immediate demand for the repeal of the pass laws — threatening a defiance campaign should the regime fail to comply — an end to the State of Emergency, the withdrawal of the South African Army from black townships, the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, the repeal of orders banning individuals and organisations, the dismantling of the bantustan system, and an end to the migrant labour system on which the cheap labour structure of the South African economy has been built.

COSATU has shown that these are far more than resolutions on paper. In support of its call to make May Day a paid holiday it was able to mobilise over one and a half million workers and another one million school students in a general strike on May 1st.

The organised strength of the democractic trade union movement has fundamentally shifted the nature and direction of the struggle against apartheid, as well as the ideologies through which it is fought out. All elements in the popular resistance today accept at least the rhetoric that the working class is "the leading force" in the liberation struggle and that a post apartheid South Africa must centrally reflect their interests — though there are of course varying interpretations of what this means and how to achieve it.

The collective working class vision contained in COSATU envisages fundamental changes to the South African economy and society. Committing itself to introduce education campaigns designed to politicise, mobilise and organise the working class, COSATU would explore "alternatives which would ensure that any society that emerged would accurately reflect the interests of the working class". Immediately after the Congress was formed its General-Secretary travelled to Zimbabwe to talk to the ANC and SACTU. In his own words:

"I told the ANC and SACTU delegation we did not want superficial changes, or black bosses to replace white bosses while the repressive machinery of State and capital remained intact. I expressed very clearly to them our commitments to see a society which was not only free of apartheid, but also free of the brutalising system under which black workers suffered. This meant a restructuring of society so that the wealth of the country would be shared among the people"

Trade unions and the national liberation struggle

Such a vision of a transformed South Africa, and COSATU's commitment to fight for that vision is not new in South African trade union history. It is part of the tradition which produced and sustained SACTU. What is new though is the organised strength that COSATU can now mobilise behind this vision. This is a strength which cannot be broken by the vicious repression which forced SACTU into exile.

The language used by the new Federation, and indeed its very name, are highly significant. The choice of the name "Congress" for the new Federation has a strong resonance in South African political culture — indicating a conscious decision to situate itself in the "congress tradition", of which the ANC is the leading force. When COSATU's Secretary-General declared after meeting the

ANC and SACTU that "the wealth of the country would be shared among the people", he was quoting directly — and certainly deliberately — from a basic plank of the ANC and SACTU's minimum program, the Freedom Charter.

The notion of a transformed South Africa is likewise central to the ANC's concept of the struggle against apartheid. Expanding on the "economic" clauses of the Freedom Charter, the ANC declared as long ago as 1969 that.

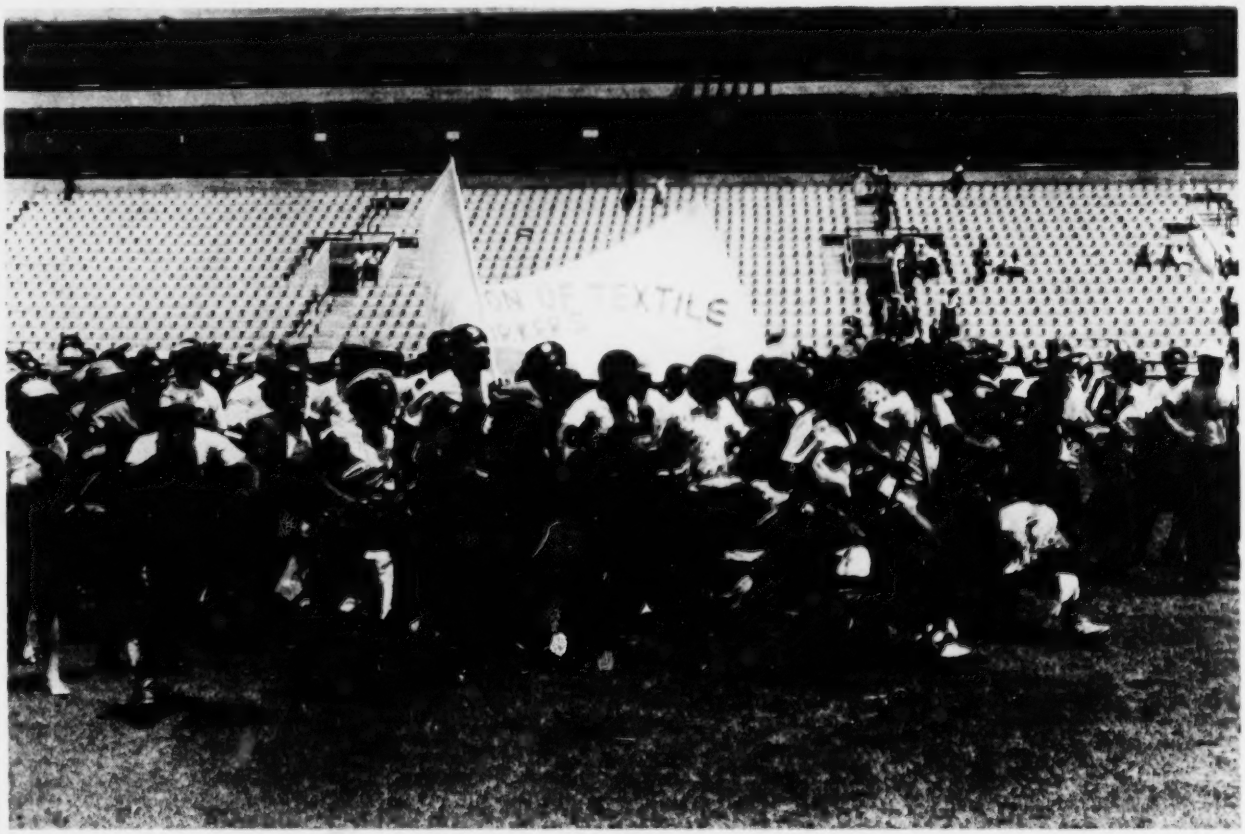
"In our country — more than in any other part of the oppressed world — it is inconceivable for liberation to have meaning without a return of the wealth of the land to the people as a whole. It is therefore a fundamental feature of our strategy that victory must embrace more than formal political democracy. To allow the existing economic forces to retain their interests intact is to feed the root of racial supremacy and does not represent even the shadow of liberation. Our drive towards national emancipation is therefore in a very real way bound up with economic emancipation . . . .The problems of meeting economic needs of the mass of the oppressed people . . . ..cannot be effectively tackled unless the basic wealth and the basic resources are at the disposal of the people as a whole and are not manipulated by sections or individuals be they White or Black"

This ANC vision asigns a "special role" to the working class.

"This perspective of a speedy progression from formal liberation to genuine and lasting emancipation is made more real by the existence in our country of a large and growing working class whose class consciousness complements national consciousness. Its poltical organisations — and the trade unions — have played a fundamental role in shaping and advancing our revolutionary cause. It is historically understandable that the doubly oppressed and doubly exploited working class constitutes a distinct and reinforcing layer of our struggle for liberation and Socialism and does not stand in conflict with the national interest"

COSATU's vision of a new, restructured South Africa and that long held by the ANC and SACTU have much in common. Both the ANC and SACTU welcomed the formation of COSATU with great joy and urged the CUSA and AZACTU unions to join the new group.

A March 1986 meeting between the leadership of COSATU, the ANC and SACTU agreed on the need for a non-racial democracy, but given the "centuries old economic injustices", one which went beyond "formal political democracy" to a system of "economic emancipation", and "the restructuring of the present economy." This meeting marked a degree of public agreement between the three organisations which would not have been possible three years earlier. It also clearly gave the lie to the view which argued that there was a sharp antagonism between the ANC and SACTU on the one hand, and COSATU on the other. Out of the meeting emerged a common sense of the need for "disciplined alliances", with COSATU allocated a leading role in representing and mobilising workers in political struggles. In discussions between COSATU and



MARGIE BRUUN-MEYER

SACTU, both agreed that there was "no contradiction whatsoever arising from their separate existence".

With this joint declaration, the democratic trade unions have now clearly moved much closer to the ANC, and virtually acknowledged its leading political role. This does not mean of course that COSATU is in any way under the control of either the ANC or SACTU. While COSATU is committted to cooperation with the liberation movement in the common struggle, it retains a fierce independence and can in no sense be seen as "the trade union wing" of the ANC. COSATU is determined to ensure that the wider political struggle against apartheid — led by the ANC — takes the direction favoured by the workers organised in COSATU. At the same time, while SACTU has warmly welcomed the creation of this new, militant trade union central — and has indeed been advocating such a development for the past six years — it has stressed that it is still convinced of the need for SACTU's kind of underground trade union work and the input of SACTU's own political vision of the trade union struggle into existing organisations. For this reason SACTU continues to maintain its international presence.

The working out of all of these new relationships will not be without its difficulties and problems. What is certain however, is that the formation of COSATU, the coming together of more than half a million organised workers into a militant federation committed to fight for the economic and political demands of South Africa's highly exploited workers is an historic turning point in the country's history. This new Congress will be in the forefront of the struggle against apartheid and for political and economic democracy.

South Africa will never be the same again!

This is from a kit called **South Africa on the Move**, available from CUSO, ECSA desk, 135 Rideau St., Ottawa, Ont. K1N 9K7.

THE CHURCH

"Our land is burning and bleeding"

In June 1986, the Anglican Archbishop-elect of Cape Town (hence responsible for the whole of southern Africa) and winner of the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize, Bishop Desmond Tutu, visited Toronto and Montreal. Thousands of Canadians heard him speak at various meetings and rallies, and hundreds of thousands if not millions more, saw him on TV.

As the most important Anglican Bishop, and certainly the best known religious figure in South Africa, Bishop Tutu brought a fourfold message to Canadians, and especially Canadian Christians. Firstly, he insisted that the apartheid policies of the South African government are heretical and totally at variance with the value system of Christianity. Secondly he stressed the determination of the black youth of his country to do away with apartheid for all time, and the brutally repressive response this had elicited from the South African government. Thirdly, saying that "our land is burning and bleeding", he warned that South Africa was on the "brink of Armageddon" — that the escalating violence was on the verge of turning into an uncontrollable bloodbath. And fourthly he insisted that there could now be no neutrality on the South African issue. The international community, and particularly Western governments, have a moral obligation to take firm action against the apartheid regime in South Africa. According to Bishop Tutu, only a concerted program of full-scale economic sanctions against South Africa could avert "a catastrophe".

Many Canadians responded strongly to Bishop Tutu's message. Many others however were somewhat surprised that the head of the Anglican church in Southern Africa should play such an openly political role and confront the government of his country in such a direct fashion. By calling publically for sanctions, Bishop Tutu flouted South African law and risks a minimum five year jail sentence. Bishop Tutu's visit to Canada, and the powerful message he brought with him, points to the increasingly important political role of churches in South Africa. Together with other

IMPACT VISUALS

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South African theologians such as Dr. Allan Boesak, President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and Dr. Beyers Naude, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Tutu is internationally recognised and admired as a leading opponent of the racist system of apartheid.

South Africa's Christian Churches

As South Africa's Constitution proclaims, and President P.W. Botha is so fond of observing, South Africa is a "Christian" country. The 1980 Census revealed that 77% of South Africans of all races claim to be Christians (see Table A). Yet these Christians are profoundly divided, and indeed at virtual war with each other. In the words of a recent document published by 152 Christian theologians of all denominations:

"There we sit in the same Church while outside Christian policemen and soliders are beating up and killing Christian children or torturing Christian prisoners to death while yet other Christians stand by and weakly plead for peace"

Table A

Breakdown of Religious Affiliation in South Africa in terms of Apartheid's official classification of racial groups (1980 Census)

	Religious Grouping	Whites	Coloureds	Asians	Africans*	Population
A:	CHRISTIANS					
1.	Ned. Geref. Kerk NGK	37.4	26.0	0.5	6.5	14.0
2.	Geref. Kerk GK	2.8	—	—	—	0.5
3.	Ned. Herv. Kerk NHK	5.4	—	—	—	1.0
4.	Anglican	10.1	13.5	1.1	4.7	6.5
5.	Methodist	9.1	5.4	0.5	9.2	8.5
6.	Presbyterian	2.8	3.7	0.1	4.1	3.7
7.	Congregational	—	6.5	—	1.2	1.5
8.	Lutheran	—	3.7	0.1	4.1	3.2
9.	Roman Catholic	8.7	10.1	2.6	9.9	7.6
10.	Apostolic Faith Mission	22.8	1.9	—	0.7	1.2
11.	Full Gospel	—	—	2.8	—	0.1
12.	Independent African	—	4.5	—	29.3	20.4
13.	Other Churches	12.8	15.6	4.7	6.3	8.4
SUB-TOTAL		91.8	87.0	12.5	74.1	76.6
B:	NON-CHRISTIAN					
14.	Jewish	2.6	—	—	—	0.5
15.	Hindu	—	—	62.4	—	2.1
16.	Islam	—	6.3	18.8	—	1.3
17.	Other	0.6	1.2	1.5	0.6	0.7
SUB-TOTAL		3.2	7.5	82.6	0.6	4.5
C:	UNKNOWN, NONE	5.0	5.5	4.9	25.3	18.7
D:	TOTAL (thousands)	4,528	2,613	821	16,924	100.0

*Excludes inhabitants of the then so-called "independent" Bantustans of the Transkei, Bophutatswana and Venda (ie.approximately 6 million South Africans)

This intense violence reflects the fact that under the apartheid system, South Africa's Christians and their churches are sharply polarized. It reflects, moreover the fact that, despite the apartheid regime's regular denunciations of "political clergy", established churches and church people have always played a very important political role. In South Africa the churches have always been major actors in defining the conflicting moral terrain on which political struggles take place. The divisions within and between them reflect the divisions within South African society.

South Africa's Christian churches are divided socially, ethnically and politically and ideologically. They fall into three broad groups.

The Dutch Reformed Churches

The first is that of the racially segregated Calvinist Dutch Reformed Churches (DRCs). About 80% of Afrikaans speaking Whites belong to the 3 white Dutch Reformed Churches, while 26% of the so-called "Coloured" groups and 6.5% of Asians belong to the subordinate "daughter" churches the DRCs have established for what they called "non-whites" (see categories 1-3 in Table A above).

Rigidly conservative in their theologogy and social practices the three white DRC's broadly support the racist policies of the South African state. So closely identified are they with Afrikaner Nationalism and its National Party (NP) which has ruled South Africa since 1948, that the biggest of these churches — the NGK — is often referred to as "the National Party at prayer". Moreover, the theological rationalizations of the NP's apartheid policies which were elaborated by these churches in the 1940's has led to the widespread — though not totally correct view -that "the apartheid system was born, bred and nurtured in the Dutch Reformed Church".

Reformed Calvinism came to South Africa with the Dutch Colonists in the 17th Century. It evolved together with the Afrikaans language and people, clinging to the rigid conservative theology of the Calvinist Synod of Dort in 1618. By the mid 19th Century, South Africa's Dutch Reformed Church had established a separate existence from the Reformed Church in the Netherlands, and underwent a series of schisms which gave rise to the smaller GK and NHK amongst the Voortrekkers who left the Cape Colony in the 1830 to colonise the interior. By 1857, all of the DRC's were officially racially segregated and the NGK established the subordinate "daughter" churches for its black adherents.

The history of Afrikaner Nationalism is intimately tied up with the DRCs. They provided the organised community focus and world view through which the social and political movement of Afrikaner nationalism began to define itself in the 20th Century. Individual DRC theologians -such as Dr D.F. Malan, who became the NP Prime Minister in 1948 — played a vital role in the development of the National Party, the Afrikaner Broederbond and other leading organisations of the Afrikaner nationalist movement. In the first 40 years of the 20th Century, the DRC's concerned themselves mainly with the "poor white problem" — the pervasive and deep poverty into which the development of a modern, English-dominated, capitalist economy had thrown as much as two-thirds of all Afrikaners. This gradu-

ally gave rise to an Afrikaner exclusivism which ascribed the pervasive poverty among Afrikaners to the twin evils of "British imperialism" — and particularly the control of the economy by the English — and economic competition from what they called "uncivilised blacks".

The apartheid policies of the Nationalist Party emerged as an attempt to deal with both of these perceived enemies. Afrikaners would challenge the English control over the economy, and transform their socio-economic position through the rigid control over cheap black migrant labour by the Afrikaner government. In the 1940s all three white DRC's developed the theological justification for this policy of intense national oppression and exploitation, and gave their full support to the NP. During the 1950s the DRCs were constantly busy trying to interpret, formulate, justify, reconcile and pronounce themselves on the matter of apartheid and the scriptures, and maintained a virutally monolithic support for the NP and its policies. The NGK declared officially in 1958 that:

"As a church we have always worked purposefully for the separation of the races. In this regard apartheid can rightly be called a Church policy"

The first cracks in this total DRC support for apartheid and the NP began to appear shortly after the Sharpeville massacre in 1960. In December 1960 the World Council of Churches held a meeting at Cottesloe in Johannesburg with its eight affiliated South African churches — then including the NGK. The NGK delegates concurred with a final resolution which in effect condemned apartheid and declared that it had no scriptural basis. NP Prime Minister — and architect of apartheid Hendrik Verwoerd — mobilised the full weight of the Afrikaner establishment to bring the erring theologians into line. After a protracted struggle, the NP mainstream re-established full control and forced a number of dissidents out of their churches.

The most prominent of these was the Moderator of the Transvaal Synod of the NGK, Dr Beyers Naude. In 1963, he set up the anti-apartheid and ecumenical Christian Institute, dedicated to a non-racial christianity and training of black thoelogians. The Christian Institute was a vital inspiration in the Black Theology movement of the late 1960s and 1970s (see below) and together with its Director Dr. Naude, was banned by the state in 1977.

The intense ideological conflict within Afrikaner nationalism between its so-called Verligtes ("the enlightened") and Verkramptes ("reactionaries") over the past 20 years, has been mirrored by divisions within the white DRCs themselves. Though the mainstream of these churches continued to follow whatever was the official NP line up to 1980, a small but growing number of clergy and laity began to question both isolated aspects of apartheid — particularly the "moral effects" of the migrant labour system -and the wider apartheid system itself. However they remained a very small — and ostracized — minority.

An important aspect of these conflicts was the growing distance between the white DRCs and the various "daughter" churches they had set up for blacks. Until the 1970s the "daughter" churches had been led by clergy seconded from the "mother" churches, and they slavishly reproduced the official rationalizations for apartheid. This gave rise to rapidly shrinking congregations and a severe moral crisis for these churches. In the 1970s a new aggressive black clergy began to cut the links between the black Reformed churches and the "mother" DRC's, and bitterly criticised the alleged theological bases of apartheid. Some of the most militant Christian critics of apartheid are drawn from this tradition. Most well known is probably Dr Allan Boesak, who largely inspired the formation of South Africa's United Democratic Front (UDF), and who was elected President of the World Council of Reformed Churches in 1982 — which proclaimed apartheid to be a heresy.

The growing crisis for the apartheid regime since 1978 led to attempts within all churches to condemn apartheid. In 1982, 123 dissident DRC ministers condemned apartheid as an heresy. In 1983 the Western Cape Synod of the NGK reversed its long held position by now declaring that there was no scriptural justification for apartheid. The synod urged all NGK churches to end the segregation of their communities and open their doors to all Christians. This has created something of a crisis in the NGK, with a compromise resolution leaving such decisions up to individual congregations.

These developments reflect the collapse of Afrikaner nationalism as a cohesive political and social force. The ruling National Party split in 1982, and with the formation of the more right wing Conservative Party and Afrikaner Volkswag as a right wing "alternative" to the Broederbond, prominent DRC clergy and laity play leading roles in the politics of the ultra right. At the other extreme of DRC politics, a number of DRC ministers have been prohibited by the regime from visiting the headquarters of the banned African National Congress (ANC) in Zambia — although informal talks between ANC representatives and an NGK group did take place at the December 1985 meeting in Harare ogranised by the World Council of Churches.

Independent African Churches

On the opposite side of the social spectrum to the White-dominated DRC stands South Africa's largest grouping of churches — the Independent African Churches. The membership of these churches has more than tripled since 1960. According to the 1980 Census, nearly 40% of black Christians and just over 20% of South Africa's total population belong to these exclusively black churches. Together they claim the allegiance of nearly 30% of the African population, and 4.5% of the so-called "Coloureds". Their real membership may be even higher however, as the 1980 census data excluded approximately 5 million South Africans in the three bantustans which had then been granted "independence" by Pretoria (the Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda). The desperately poor rural inhabitants and the migrant workers of these bantustans are exactly the social groups from which these Independent African Churches draw their membership.

There are today an estimated 3,000 independent black churches in South Africa. Most of them are small churches of great variety, but they can be divided basically into two very broad streams.

The first of these, Zionist and the Indigenous Apostolic churches are far removed from "mainstream" Christian practices, and rooted in African traditions. They usually combine Christianity with elements of traditional African religion to produce a vaguely millenarian belief structure

IMPACT VISUALS

and religious practices. Their membership is drawn mainly from the poorest and least educated sectors of the black rural and urban population.

These churches began to emerge in South Africa at the end of the 19th century, following the final defeat of the traditional African kingdoms and the impostion of direct colonial rule over all of that is now South Africa. Their emergence reflected a pattern common throughout most of Africa and much of the colonial empires of the European powers. This was the formation of religious communities amongst the colonised people, which combined elements of traditional religious practices and beliefs with Christianity into a frequently millenial vision. The many forms of this religious response to colonialism all had in common an assertion of black leadership and an expectation of a cataclysmic ("millenarian") event in the near future which would end the oppression and suffering of the colonised people. Although often highly conservative, such religious movements are now widely seen by social scientists as a pre-cursor of nationalist movements.

The biggest of these churches is the Zion Christian Church (ZCC), headed by Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane. Based at Moria in the Lebowa bantustan, the ZCC claims close to 5 million members in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Malawi and Swaziland. Its annual Easter assembly routinely attracts over 1 million people to its centre of worship.

Like most of the independent Zionist and the indigenous Apostolic churches, the mass-based ZCC has been notably absent from orthodox black political activities, and its leadership is highly conservative. Bishop Lekganyane invited President P.W.Botha to address the ZCC 1985 Easter Assembly, where he was listened to passively by more than a million gathered ZCC members. Likewise, in 1984 the Life President of the Reformed Independent Churches Association, Bishop Izak Mokoena — who claims 4.5 million followers — strongly attacked the Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, Bishop Desmond Tutu, for his support for the disinvestment campaign.

The second broad stream of Independent African Churches are the Ethiopian and other Separatist churches. These are generally offshoots of Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational mission Churches. Their theology is much more centrally rooted within "mainstream" Protestant Christianity, and their membership is largely drawn from less disadvantaged social groups than the Zionist or Apostolic churches. Their distinguishing feature however was their very early assertion of the need for a black clergy, independent of the white ministers and members of the largely mission churches out of which the various Separatist churches first emerged at the end of the 19th Century. Their separatism was a reaction to percieved racism and paternalism in the mission churches. The adoption of the name "Ethiopian" by some, for example,

was a conscious assertion of black independence and the need for black leadership (the independent African kingdom of Ethiopia had inflicted military defeat on attempts by Italy to colonise its territory, and for much of the next 50 years was a symbol of African independence and pride).

These Ethiopian churches are also politically less conservative than the Zionist chuches. One umbrella grouping, the Council of African Independent Churches condemned Bishop Izak Mokeona of the Reformed Independent Churches Association for his 1984 attack on Bishop Tutu, implied that Bishop Mokoena was something of a government stooge, and dismissed his claims of 4.5 million followers as "fraudulent". In a joint statement with ten independent church associations in December 1984, the Council stated that:

"We in the independent churches are the poorest and most oppressed of South African society. We are the most affected by forced removals, resettlement, migrant labour, influx control laws, and economic exploitation at the factory floor and we constitute the greater part of workers in the country"

However whilst not nearly as conservative as the Zionist or the Apostolic Churches, this second stream of African Independent Churches has not as a whole moved openly into political struggles.

The "Mainstream" Churches

The third main group of Churches are the so-called "mainstream" Protestant churches, together with the Catholic Church. Forty per cent of all South Africans (and 45% of whites) belong to such churches (see Table A). The Catholic Church, the Methodists and Anglicans, are the biggest of these churches. Together they account for almost 30% of the white population and nearly 25% of the total population. Since 1960 the proportion of South Africans claiming adherence to the Catholic Church has grown steadily (mainly among blacks) while proportional adherence to the other major churches has decreased. All the major Protestant churches (except for the white Dutch Reformed Churches) belong to the South African Council of Churches (SACC), while South Africa's Catholic Church has observer status on the SACC, which represents approximately 13 million Christians. Bishop Tutu was SACC General Secretary until his election as Bishop of Johannesburg in 1984. His place was taken by Dr. Beyers Naude.

These mainstream Protestant churches and the Catholic church first came to South Africa in the wake of British colonial rule after 1806. The interests of most of these churches, and particularly the Anglican, were so closely identified with those of British colonialism as to be almost identical. This is pithily if somewhat blasphemously summed up in the common South African saying that under British colonial rule the Holy Trinity consisted of "-Trade, the Flag and the Bible". The Churches were often split in their vision of their role, catering to their mainly white congregations on the one hand — and careful not to challenge their prejudice — whilst carrying on significant missionary activity on the other. Christian missionaries in South Africa — as elsewhere in Africa — played a vitally important role in the conquest and pacification of the indigenous peoples by the British.

However even at an early stage, within these largely white churches, important missionary and church groups and indviduals interpreted "the interests of the Empire" in a somewhat unconventional fashion. Their activities on behalf of their African congregations brought them into conflict with both the British colonial state, and particularly their Dutch co-colonialists. Thus the energetic efforts of Dr. John Philip of the London Missionary Society (LMS) in the early 19th Century led to a significant improvement in the conditions of slave labourers and the abolishment of slavery — and earned him the undying hatred of Afrikaner nationalists. Likewise the advocacy by Bishop Colenso in Natal of the rights of the still-independent Zulu Kingdom created a scandal -and a minor theological crisis — in colonial society.

Thus there was always a minority strand in this "mainstream" Christianity which deplored the impact of colonial rule on black South Africa, and argued that "the civilising and Christianising mission" (which churches advocated) should be geared to defending the diminishing rights of the colonised peoples. This had a strong impact on emerging African political consciousness. The mission churches were vitally important in African political development in other ways too. Until the imposition of the hated Bantu Education System by the apartheid state in 1956, the state did not provide education to black South Africans. The churches were the only organised force to do so on any scale. Generations of black leaders were educated in Church schools — and one of the major reasons for the imposition of Bantu Education was the determination by the regime to do away with what it saw as the 'liberal' education provided by the mission schools.

Individual white clergy and laity of these churches, and especially Anglicans, did voice strident criticism of racism and apartheid before the 1970s. The Reverend Michael Scott worked tirelessly in the 1940s to draw attention to the appalling conditions of blacks in South Africa -giving testimony to this effect at the United Nations. In the 1950s Father (later Bishop) Trevor Huddleston, and Bishop Ambrose Reeves were deeply involved in campaigns to prevent the forced removal of Africans, and the Head of the Anglican Church, Archbishop Joost de Blank was a constant critic of apartheid. The first three of these church leaders were finally expelled from South Africa. Their opposition to apartheid won them — and their church — great respect in the black community. As Bishop of Johannesburg Ambrose Reeves was known affectionately amongst Africans as "Our Bishop", and in 1955, Trevor Huddleston stood with ANC President Albert Luthuli, and South African Indian Congress leader Dr. Yusuf Dadoo as one of the first three recipients of the ANC's highest accolade for courageous opposition to apartheid, the Isitwelandwe medal.

But despite the outstanding role of such men, the mainstream churches were held back by their white congregations. These remained "white" churches, largely serving "white" interests. Until the 1960s their clergy were overwhelmingly, if not entirely, white, and positions in the church hierarchies and leadership structures were filled almost entirely by whites until the 1970s.

This began to change in earnest in the late 1960s. A number of factors were important here. Firstly, the social

composition of both clergy and laity was changing. By the 1960s, increasing numbers of black ministers were ordained into the various churches. Whilst still a minority, they began to exercise a growing influence on Church policy, particularly in the Anglican, Methodist and Catholic Churches. Moreover, with the effective destruction of black political movements by 1963 and the brutally repressive atmosphere of the 1960s, young black South Africans began to move into the Churches as the one forum where they could meet and discuss in relative freedom. Within the black townships church attendence grew rapidly in the 1960s, whilst that in the white areas fell. The black congregations of the mainstream churches became a crucially important site of intense political and philosophical debate, and the churches were obliged to respond creatively. The formation of the University Christian Movement (UCM) with the active support of most of the mainstream churches stimulated this debate even further, with young black students like Steve Biko playing an important role. Barely a year after its formation, the UCM gave birth to the Black Consciousness Movment (BCM), which transformed black politics at the end of the 1960s.

Secondly, at the beginning of the 1970s, the BCM itself produced a new movement which was to have an important effect on the mainstream Churches, pushing them away from their heavy focus on the concerns of their white congregations.This was the doctrine of Black Theology. According to Steve Biko:

"Black Theology seeks to relate God and Christ once more to the Black man and his daily problems. It wants to describe Christ as a fighting God and not a passive God — Blacks have had enough experience as objects of racism not to want to reverse the tables — In time we shall be able to bestow upon South Africa the greatest gift possible — a more human face"

Black Theology attacked the "phoney and smug official middle class multiracialism" of the churches as a tokenism meaningless to the "de-humanising plight of the 75% illiterate, poor blacks", and one which drew black clergy towards a white elite and away from their own people and culture. It confronted the churches with their collective failure as institutions to challenge apartheid in anything but rhetorical fashion.

Taken together these factors began to change the behaviour of the mainstream churches. In the words of the President of the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference, Archbishop Denis Hurley:

"Over the past ten years the Catholic Church has moved from paying too much attention to its white members, to becoming a church with 'greater balance'".

Today the mainstream churches are an important focus of opposition to apartheid.

The churches in opposition to apartheid

The emerging political role of the mainstream churches was perhaps mirrored most clearly in the evolving policies of the South African Council of Churches (SACC). Today the SACC has 22 affiliated churches, whilst the Catholic Church participates in its activities as an observer. The Council began life as the Christian Council of South Africa, representing the white leadership of the major establishment churches. It took its present name in 1968 when it also adopted the controversial "Message to the People of South Africa" which declared that "Apartheid, with its attendant hardships, was a doctrine truly hostile to Christianity". This marked the beginning of the SACC's sustained opposition to apartheid. The following year the Council initiated the Study Programme on Christianity in an Aparthied Society (SPROCAS), to study the practical implications of the Message. Eventually SPROCAS provided an important focus of debate over what would consititute a "just society" in South Africa and clearly sharpened thinking in the churches.

In the early 1970's blacks began to enter the previously exclusively white SACC leadership,and the Council initiated "positive action" to achieve its vision of a "just society" set out in the SPROCAS reports. It officially supported "Black Theology" as a way to "free the man of Africa from his inferiority", and began to urge white South Africans not to fight in "unjust wars" such as one in defence of apartheid and to support conscientious objectors. It also began to oppose foreign investment in South Africa.

With the election of Bishop Tutu as SACC Secretary General in 1978, the Council took up increasingly stronger anti-apartheid positions. Member Churches were urged to "withdraw from cooperation with the state as far as possible" and to work out "strategies of resistance". At its 1980 conference it adopted the Freedom Charter (the basic program of the now banned ANC) as its vision of a just society, called for the release of Nelson Mandela and an end to apartheid. The Council also refused to condemn violence "executed in pursuance of a just society" and withdrew its support from organisations " likely to promote class divisions" among blacks — citing the business-sponsored Urban Foundation as such an organisation.

Operating through the SACC, the position of the mainstream churches grew even stronger in the 1980s. The SACC has called for mass mobilisation of Christians to oppose and prevent the regime's notorious program of forced removals (which have moved 4 million people, often at gunpoint, in the past 25 years), opposed military conscription and encouraged the government to talk to the ANC. However at the 1984 national conference Bishop Tutu declared that such talks were unlikely until the regime abolished the pass laws and forced removals, introduced a uniform system of education, lifted all banning orders, and declared a commitment to an undivided South Africa.

However there remain tensions within the Churches on such issues. Many white congregations are at best hesitant over the increasingly vocal political engagement of their church leaders. Bishop Tutu jokes that when he was appointed Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg in 1984, his dioscese was immediately confronted with a "disinvestment campaign" by some of its white parishoners. More seriously, despite the prominent role of black church leaders, the leadership positions of the mainstream churches are still dominated by whites. The Methodist Church is the single largest denomination in this grouping. Over 80% of its nearly 2 million members are black, but at the leadership level, only 1 of its 11 District Chairmen is an African, one other a "Coloured" and the rest are all white. Responding to this perceived white domination, black Christians organised a Black Ecumenical Council in November 1985. They warned the mainstream churches

IMPACT VISUALS

and particularly the South African Council of Churches that they would form a separate Black Council of Churches if blacks were not given more decision making power within church leadership structures in 12 months.

The emerging consensus in the mainstream churches on the need for political action to end aparthed has focussed heavily on international economic links. The May 1986 Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC) called for "economic pressure" to force "genuine change" in South Africa. Bishop Tutu has been the most outspoken church leader on this issue. He has strongly condemned foreign investment in South Africa as "buttressing one of the most vicious systems the world has ever known". He dismisses claims that such investment improves the lot of black South Africans as "baloney" and has pertinently questioned the sudden concern with the welfare of Blacks from investors who have profitted for so long from apartheid's cheap labour system. Bishop Tutu has also repeatedly declared that "if the international community does not help us, we are going to have a bloodbath" and that without international pressure — "above all, economic pressure" — on the apartheid regime, "then we will get Armageddon". In April 1986, he deliberately broke South African law and called on the international community "to apply punitive sanctions against this government". These were necessary because:

"Our land is burning and bleeding. . .I have no hope of real change from this government unless they are forced . . . We face a catastrophe in this land and only the action of the international community by applying pressure can save us".

Rejecting arguments that such measures would hurt blacks more than whites, Bishop Tutu argues that over 70% of Blacks support some form of sanctions and expressed the hope that people who use this argument about hurting Blacks "would just drop it quietly and stop being so hypocritical. It is amazing how evertybody has become so solicitous for Blacks and become such wonderful altruists".

Bishop Tutu's highly visible political stance is limited however to moral intervention. He does not himself directly participate in the activities of political organisations. Other prominent church leaders have gone further than Bishop Tutu on this issue. A speech by Dr Allen Boesak inspired the formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF), and Dr Boesak is one of the main UDF Patrons. He has argued that:

"Resistance to the government. . . .is a call to Christian obedience which comes to us from the heart of the Gospel. You can no longer resist simply by saying 'I am against apartheid'. You have to translate your resistance into action. . . .The second thing we must do. . .is we must form organisations [and] participate in the actions of the community against apartheid".

Other church leaders, such as the Rev Frank Chikane,

play important leadership roles in community organisations and the UDF — leading to his suspension by the white leadership of his Apostolic Faith Mission of Africa.

Responding to this growing concern with the need for churches to be involved with popular organisation, the mainstream churches have begun to forge links with the liberation movement. The World Council of Churches organised a conference on South Africa in Harare in December 1985, attended by most of the mainstream churches. The two organisations recognised by the Organisation of African Unity as South African Liberation Movements — the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) participated as full delegates in the conference. The final Harare Declaration called for the churches to throw their full weight behind the liberation struggle.

In April 1986 a delegation from the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference met with the leadership of the banned ANC in Zambia. Both delegations agreed that the apartheid system was the cause of the violence in South and southern Africa, that "apartheid cannot be reformed but must be ended in its entirety" and that as "the principle obstacle to the emergence of a democratic government representative of all the people of South Africa" Mr. Botha's government "cannot be an agent for change". The SACBC "recognised the fact that the ANC is playing an important role in this struggle [to end apartheid] and that it will occupy a similar postion in a free South Africa" . The Catholic Bishops likewise acknowledged that "it is necessary for the Catholic Church to engage in specific actions to increase the pressure for genuine change in South Africa. Mere condemnation of the apartheid system is not enough". Specifically agreed upon in this regard was the need to intensify the campaign to release political prisoners, opposition to Pretoria's aggression against its neighbours, the mobilisation of white Catholics "to act against" apartheid, and the "campaign to end military conscription". The joint communique concluded with an agreement between the ANC and SACBC "to maintain contact with each other".

Towards a theology of liberation

Other church activists have gone much further. In September 1985 the Kairos (Moment of Truth) Document was released under the signatures of 152 Black and White theologians drawn from the Catholic, "Mainstream Protestant", evangelical and pentacostal churches. The Kairos document has been widely hailed as marking the emergence of a "confessing church" patterned on the church groups around Pastor Niemoller who resisted the Nazi's in Germany. Other commentators see parallels with the "liberation theology" in Latin America.

Examining conflicting theological explantations of South Africa, the document declares that the country is in a state of civil war or revolution in which no compromise is possible. The regime is "the enemy of the people", incapable of reform, and "can only be replaced by another government". The document declares that God is on the side of the oppressed, and that the source of violence in South Africa is the policies of the government. Dealing with the whole question of violence it asks: "How can acts of oppression, injustice and domination be equated with acts of resistance and self-defence. Would it be legitimate to describe both the physical force used by a rapist and the physical force used by a woman trying to resist the rapists as violence?" and points out that throughout the Bible the word "violence" is used only to describe the acts of a wicked oppressor, but never to describe the activities of Israel's armies trying to liberate themselves. Asserting that "God's justice demands a radical change of structures", it argues that such change

"can only come from below, from the oppressed themselves. God will bring about change through the oppressed as He did through the oppressed hebrew slaves in Egypt. God does not bring His justice through reforms introduced by the pharoahs of the world".

The Kairos document concludes that Christians "if they are not doing so already, must quite simply participate in the struggle for liberation and for a just society. . . .Hope needs to be spread".

Repression against the churches

The outspoken criticism by Church leaders has consistently provoked a strong state response -beginning with the deportations of the 1950s. Non South African clergy working in the country (and in Namibia) are regularly deported. South African ministers have been banned -most prominently Beyers Naude between 1977 and 1984. Bishop Tutu, Allan Boesak and others have had their passports withdrawn too frequently to even elicit comment, and church people are frequently detained by the police. The 1985 detention of Dr Boesak provoked the ire of even Ronald Reagan. But hundreds of other less prominent church activists have been regularly detained by the regime and its bantustan puppets.

The apartheid state has, moreover, tried to clamp down on vocal church organisations. The ecumenical Christian Institute was declared an illegal organisation in 1977. In 1981 the government accused the South African Council of Churches "of propagating the same [revolutionary] policy as the ANC since 1961", and of helping to promote disorder and violence. In the same year the state appointed a Commission of Enquiry into the Affairs of the Council, which condemned the churches on charges ranging from financial mismanagement to subversion. Following the witchhunt against the SACC, the Minister of Police warned that he would "not allow any wicked acts to be committed under the cloak of religion".

As the church takes an increasingly prominent role in the ongoing struggle against apartheid, state repression against church people will clearly escalate.

This is from a kit called **South Africa on the Move**, available from CUSO, ECSA desk, 135 Rideau St., Ottawa, Ont. K1N 9K7

THE CANADIAN CONNECTION

Canadian companies propping up apartheid

The scene is an everyday one in the cities of South Africa. The blue uniformed white police jump out of their trucks and rush into the surrounding buildings. Amidst shouts and screams, blacks are seen running frantically in all directions, many of them chased by policemen. Slowly the police come panting out of the buildings manhandling manacled and protesting blacks, throwing them unceremoniously into the waiting pale blue trucks.

The passers by scarcely stop. This is yet another of the infamous pass raids which over the past decades have seen more than a quarter of a million Africans arrested each year for not carrying the stamped book which decides where they may and may not be in their own country. Since July 1986 blacks no longer have to carry the hated pass, but now have to show evidence that they occupy "approved housing". Still the raids continue.

When the waiting police pick-up trucks are full, the doors are locked and they drive off. Hundreds of black fingers poke through the wire mesh of the truck windows as they cling for support. Anyone who looks closely at these truckloads of apartheid's prisoners is likely to see a familiar logo stamped on the police truck's radiator grill — FORD. By 1979 FORD had sold 49,342 trucks to the apartheid police and army. Today the figure is probably over 60,000. Ford of Canada is the parent company of Ford of South Africa.

And if these bystanders were able to look under the engine cover, or at the engines of the armoured pesonnel carriers, tanks and trucks and other vehicles used by the police and army against the people of South Africa, and in Pretoria's regular and deadly raids against its neighbours, they would see a diesel engine produced at the state-owned Atlantis diesel-engine plant. The Atlantis plant has a statutory monopoly to produce all diesel engines in South Africa. The South African army and police are amongst its biggest clients. Under a 15-year contract, the technology needed in the plant is being transferred to the apartheid government by a British subsidiary of Canada's Massey Ferguson.

Most of the blacks arrested in this police raid will be given a trial which lasts on average 58 seconds. They will then be fined and deported from the cities back to one of the 10 fragmented rural slums known as the bantustans which the white government says are the real "homelands" of South Africa's black majority, and the only areas where they have any political "rights". The land in the bantustans is overcrowded, worked-out and eroded, and the levels of unemployment are very high — but the state keeps no figures. This opens the way for the most extreme form of exploitation by unscrupulous employers.

Among the worst is the Canadian-owned Bata Shoes factory at Keate's Drift — one of the most barren areas of the KwaZulu bantustan. Almost 90% of the workforce are women, and an increasing number of these women are "out-workers" doing piecework at home, earning weekly between R30 and R40 (between Cdn $10 and $30 depending on the rapidly fluctuating exchange rate), for a workday which can extend to one in the morning. Bata has resolutely refused to recognise the National Union of Textile Workers, despite the fact that the majority of the workforce have joined the union which is affiliated to the 600,000-strong Congress of South African Trade Unions.

In January 1986 a Canadian Catholic Bishops delegation to South Africa found that Hulett Aluminium — 25% of which was owned by Canada's Alcan Aluminium — was producing "casings for rocket shells, aluminium fins for bombs and specialised sheet metal for armoured plating". Other Canadian based companies have been much more directly involved in helping Pretoria's generals circumvent the arms embargo against South Africa. It was revealed in 1980 that between 1976 and 1979, the Quebec-based Space Research — together with its US sister company — had provided crucial technology and advanced computer testing facilities which had enabled South Africa to develop its highly advanced "G-5" and "G-6" 155mm Howitzer artillery pieces, claimed to be the most advanced of their kind in the world. In 1983 Control Data Canada sold eleven large scale computer systems to the South African government-owned Iron and Steel Corporation (ISCOR). ISCOR is the major supplier of South Africa's state-owned Armaments Corporation (ARMSCOR). These Control Data computers were to be used at ISCOR Vanderbylpark plant, opened in 1976 "to make South Africa self-sufficient in this highly strategic metal"

Canadian Profits from apartheid

The involvement of Canadian companies in South Africa's racist economy goes back to the beginning of the century. Apartheid's cheap labour system has made this a highly profitable involvement for Canadian business. For much of the past 40 years, the return on capital invested in the apartheid economy has been among the highest, if not the highest, in the world. The prestigious US business journal, FORTUNE, wrote in November 1985, that in 1981 the after tax earnings for the 300 US corporations operating in

South Africa averaged 38%. For many, many years Canadian companies shared in the profit bonanza created by apartheid.

With the crisis now confronting the apartheid economy, conditions are no longer as profitable. The after tax earnings cited above have fallen to under 7% and many foreign companies are beginning to withdraw from South Africa. Yet even today the catalogue of direct and indirect Canadian involvement in the apartheid economy is a long one.

In 1981, there were 28 Canadian companies with direct investments in South Africa totalling $247 million, while the total Canadian controlled investment in South Africa was said by Statistics Canada to be $531 million. However even this higher figure does not reveal the full extent of Canada's financial interests in the apartheid economy. It excludes a number of vitally important items. These include: short term assets; Canadian investments made indirectly through Canadian subsidiaries in other countries; concealed portfolio investment in South Africa (only reviewed every six years by Statistics Canada); the considerable Canadian investment in South African mining stocks through American Depository Receipts (reported to Statistics Canada as the purchase of US rather than South African stocks); and bank loans to South Africa — which increased substantially after 1980.

Some perspective on the real levels of Canadian financial involvement with the apartheid economy can be gleaned by looking at US figures. The US Department of Commerce reported in 1982 that total US investment stood at US$2.6 billion. However a leaked study by the US State Department showed that total US financial involvement was US$14.6 billion. Thus the total of real Canadian involvement is much higher than the investment figures published by Statistics Canada. The detailed study by the SACTU Solidarity Committee (see Resources) estimated the 1981 total value of investments in South Africa controlled by Canada-based corporations or their subsidiaries abroad at $1,100 million — and this figure still exludes many of the categories listed above.

While the real level of Canadian financial involvement with apartheid is therefore not known, it is declining under the dual impact of the apartheid's economic and political crisis, and the growing international movement for disinvestment and sanctions against South Africa. At the end of 1984 direct Canadian investment stood at $135 million (down from $247 million in 1981). This decline does not of itself indicate a Canadian withdrawal from South Africa, but rather simply reflects the rapid fall in the value of the South African Rand over this period -thus the same level of vestment in South African currency had a dollar equivalent

At the same time that many of Canada's largest corporations choose to invest in South Africa, attracted no doubt by low wages and high profits, a large segment of the Canadian population is strongly opposed to the injustices of the Apartheid system. This is witnessed by the attendance of more than 12,000 people at the Rally Against Apartheid which ended the Toronto Arts Against Apartheid Festival, June, 1986

MARGIE BRUUN-MEYER

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in 1984 of less than 60% of its 1981 value. Nevertheless since 1984 five Canadian companies have withdrawn. The most prominent is Alcan, who announced it would sell its holdings in Hulett Aluminium shortly before a shareholders meeting at which church groups would have called for disinvestment, presenting evidence that Hulett is making equipment for the South African military. A number of other Canadian companies have begun the progressive reduction of their holdings in South African subsidiaries from 100% ownership to a minority stake.

In March 1986, 22 Canadian companies were operating in South Africa itself (see Table A). This is relatively small when compared with over 300 US companies for example. However Canadian companies play a far more significant role in the South African economy than their numbers or size of investment indicates. Firstly, these 22 Canadian companies employ 21,127 people, compared with the 62,526 people employed by the 300 US corporations in South Africa. The biggest Canadian-owned subsidiary, Ford, employed 7,365 people at the beginning of 1986 while the Western Platinum Mines subsidiary of Falconbridge employed 4,425 people — 4,151 of whom were migrant workers. The South African cheap labour system has been based on a migrant labour system, and the mining industry, together with agriculture has been the major advocate of this system.

Table A

Canadian Companies with Subsidiaries, Affiliates or Representative Offices in South Africa (Feb. 1986)

Alcan Aluminium — holds less than 50% of equity of SA subsidiary, announced disinvestment March '86
AMCA International Limited — holds 50% or more of SA subsidiary
Bayer Foreign Investments Limited
Bata Limited — holds 50% or more of 3 SA subsidiaries
Champion Road Machinery Limited — holds less than 50% of equity of SA subsidiary
Cobra Emerald Mines
COMINCO Limited — holds 50% or more of 2 SA subsidiaries
Delcan Limited — holds less than 50% of SA subsidiary
Dominion Textiles Limited — holds 50% or more of SA subsidiary
Falconbridge Limited — holds less than 50% of 2 SA subsidiaries
Ford Motor Corporation of SA Limited — holds less than 50% of SA subsidiary
International Thomson Organisation Limited — holds 50% or more of SA subsidiary
Jarvis Clark Company — holds 50% or more of SA subsidiary
Massey-Ferguson Limited — holds less than 50% of 2 SA subsidiaries
Moore Corporation — holds 50% or more of 2 SA subsidiaries
QIT-Fer et Titane inc. — holds less than 50% of SA subsidiary
Joseph E. Seagram & Sons Limited — representative office only, no investment
Sternson Limited holds less than 50% of SA subsidiary

These Canadian companies are, moreover, involved in strategic sectors of the South African economy. These sectors include: automative products; metal and engineering; heavy road machinery and specialised construction equipment; farm machinery; mining operations and mining equipment; textiles; leather goods; publishing; business forms; and consulting engineering services for infrastructural development particularly related to heavy use of public transport. In the words of the report of the administrator of the Code of Conduct for Canadian companies doing business in South Africa:

"It would be difficult to place a monetary value on the broader impact of the services and products provided and on the transfer of skills and technology involved"

Finally, this list produced by the Administrator of the Canadian Code understates Canadian corporate investment in apartheid by not including Canadian corporations which have investments only in South Africa's illegal colony of Namibia and which are hence not covered by the Code of Conduct. The most prominent of these is Rio Algom which owns 10% of the Rossing, the world's biggest open-cast Uranium mine. Rio Algom is thus directly involved in the plunder and depletion of the natural resources of Namibia, which has been declared illegal by the United Nations.

However Canadian involvement with the apartheid economy extends far beyond direct and indirect investment in South Africa and Namibia. This can be seen in a number of ways.

Firstly, over the past ten years, bank loans have emerged as a crucial means by which the South African government finances its often heavy balance of payments deficits and other expenses. Between 1972 and 1976, all the major Canadian banks and Canadian investment dealers participated in financial consortiums which made total loans of more than $4,100 million to the South African government and its major agencies. In 1984 the exposure of Canadian banks' in interbank lending to South Africa was estimated by the Task Force on Churches and Corporate Responsibilty (see Resources) to stand at $400 million.

Canada is secondly involved with the apartheid economy through South African interests operating in Canada. The most well known of these are the Rothman's and Carling O'Keefe tobacco and liquor groups. Both are controlled by the world's third biggest cigarette company, South Africa's Rembrandt group — which was formed in the 1940s as one of the first Afrikaner industrial undertakings, financed by the notorious Afrikaner secret society, the Broederbond. Rembrandt has grown into a vast tobacco and liquor multinational through its privileged contacts with the South African state — which officially exempts the Corporation from providing the information to shareholders required of all other companies. Its first venture outside of South Africa came with its purchase of Rothmans in the early 1950s.

Both Rothmans and Carling O'Keefe deny that they are owned by Rembrandt. However since the 1950s, as a matter of deliberate policy, Rembrandt has exercised control of its external operations through minority holdings under its ideology of "partnership". In Canada, Rembrant controls Carling O'Keefe through Rothmans of Canada, which is itself controlled through the West German intermediary

company (Martin Brinkman) by Rothmans International. Rothmans International is in turn 50% owned by Rembrandt (the other 50% belonging to Philip Morris), but 68% of the voting rights are reserved for Rembrandt.

The widespread sponsorship of Candian sports through Carling O'Keefe is likewise in keeping with Rembrandt policy to finance local cultural and sports activities wherever it operates. Few Canadians watching the Toronto Argonauts for example realise that they are doing so thanks to one of the major beneficiaries of apartheid, and a company which assiduously financed both Afrikaner culture and regular training seminars for South Africa's ruling National Party.

Trade is the third crucial area of involvement with the apartheid economy. This would also include trade with South Africa's illegal colony of Namibia, which trade is deemed by the United Nations to be Illegal. Canada's The Bay is a major purchaser of Namibian Swakara fur, while since 1981 Eldorado Nuclear Limited has been processing for re-export to Japan illegally exported Namibian uranium oxide (yellowcake), itself produced at Rossing with Canadian complicity.

Table B
Canadian Trade with South Africa

	Imports ($ millions)	Exports ($ millions)
1981	402	239
1982	214	219
1983	194	166
1984	222	202
1985 (6 months)	93	77

Canada has run a trade deficit with South Africa since 1971. The combined trade peaked at $641 million in 1981 and then began to decline sharply (see Table B). The decline is largely explained by a credit squeeze and foreign exchange crisis in South Africa. The growing sanctions campaign, consumer boycotts and removal of a number of South African goods by some provincial governments and the recent ban on the purchase of South African products by federal agencies will certainly accelerate this trend.

The pattern of this trade is simple. South Africa sells agricultural and mineral products to Canada, while Canada sells industrial goods, mainly heavy equipment. Thus the five major Canadian exports to South Africa in 1982 consisted of chemicals and allied products; non-electrical machinery and parts; pulp and paper products; vehicles and parts; and electrical machinery and parts. Together they accounted for $143 million or just over 75% of Canadian exports to South Africa.

Keeping Botha's finger on the trigger

Reviewing US economic links with South Africa, the US Senate Foreign Relations Commitee concluded in 1978 that:

"The net effect of American investment has been to strengthen the ecomomic and military self sufficiency of South Africa's apartheid regime"

While Canadian economic complicity with apartheid is obviously nowhere as deep as that of the US, the UK, West Germany, and Japan, the conclusions of the US senate equally apply to Canada. Canadian involvement has played an important role in keeping the apartheid regime's finger on the trigger in a number of ways.

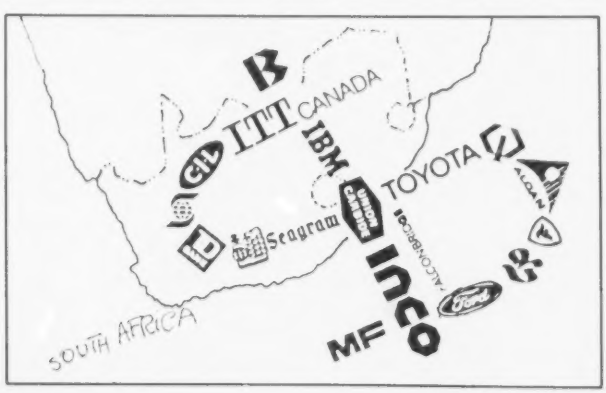
Firstly, through groups such as Space Research, Alcan, Massey Ferguson and Ford, Canadian business has been directly involved in producing material for both the military and the police. Such products are essential to the repressive capacities of the apartheid regime and its program of military and economic aggression against its neighbours which has claimed over 100,000 lives, displaced over 1 million people and cost these underdeveloped countries over US$10 billion over the past 5 years.

Secondly, and even more importantly, to paraphrase the US Senate Committee, all Canadian involvement in the South African economy contributes directly to the regime's capacity to repress its own people and attack its neighbours. This is true even of those companies with no links whatsoever with the South African government, companies whose operations are limited simply to profitting from apartheid. This can be seen in a number of ways.

South Africa's apartheid economy is the richest and only industrial economy in Africa. Its manufacturing sector accounts for 22% of its Gross Domestic Product — compared with 25% in Britain for example. Yet it is an industrial economy with a strange and unique structure. Put simply, the South African industrial sector produces almost exclusively consumer goods. It does not produce on any significant scale the heavy machinery (or capital equipment), the intermediate goods nor the technologies required to keep its industries, its mines and its highly mechanised agricultural sector going. To quote a 1982 report of the Economist Intelligence Unit, in South Africa's manufacturing sector:

"All the easy import substitution [ie the local production of previously imported manufactured consumer goods] has already been accomplished and most of the manufactured goods which continue to be imported are either very special components or machinery and equipment (eg. computers) for which markets in South Africa are still far too small to warrant local production and without which local production would be seriously inhibited"

This techonology and these intermediate goods and capital equipment have, overwhelmingly to be imported. They now account for two thirds of South Africa's total imports. And these high tech imports have to be paid for in precious foreign exchange. South Africa pays for these



MARGIE BRUUN-MEYER

Rally Against Apartheid, June, 1986.

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economic essentials in the same way as any other Third World country — through exports of minerals and agricultural commodities, and through the foreign exchange it receives from foreign investment and foreign bank loans. Like any underdeveloped Third World country, South Africa imports industrial goods and sells primary commodities. Like any underdeveloped Third World country, South African industry is a net user, rather than a net producer of foreign exchange. In this it is very different to newly industrialising countries like South Korea, for example, whose industrial sector is heavily geared to exports and earns foreign exchange for the country.

Without regular and large-scale imports of foreign heavy machinery and technology, paid for through the regular and large-scale inflow of foreign capital from primary exports, from foreign investment and from foreign loans, South Africa's highly industrialised economy would grind to a halt.

This would have a dramatic effect on the apartheid state. The South Africa budget for 1986/7 estimated total state expenditures at R37.481 billion (between Cdn $13 billion and $27 billion, depending on the wildly fluctuating rate of exchange). Total spending on the army and police force and all other hidden expenses associated with the security forces accounts for R8.7 billion — or just under 25% of the total budget. South Africa spends on its security forces nearly four times as much as the Gross Domestic Product of the second most industrialised state in Southern Africa — Zimbabwe. Moreover, according to the United Nations, real expenditure on "Defence" regularly exceeds budgetted expenditure by 30-35%.

The total budgetted expenditure for the security forces plus those state departments crucial to the administration of the entire vast edifice of apartheid, stands at almost R16.5 billion — or 44% of the total budget. Moreover, since all state departments have a significant apartheid component in their budget, the real expenditure of the South African government on the defence and administration of apartheid probably accounts for 50% of the total budget.

Without the approximately US$25 billion foreign companies have invested in South Africa, without the US$24 billion owed in short and long term loans from foreign banks, and without the gold, the diamonds, the apples and the other primary commodities Pretoria sells to countries like Canada, the apartheid regime would simply be unable to spend billions of dollars expanding its army and police force, invading its neighbours, repressing its own population, and maintaining the entire expensive structure of apartheid.

Such foreign involvement is crucial to keeping Mr Botha's finger on the trigger. To quote former South African Prime Minister John Vorster, who said whilst still in office:

"Each trade agreement, each bank loan, each new investment is another brick in the wall of our continued existence"

Although the Canadian involvement is relatively small compared with the US, UK, West Germany and Japan, Canada has also signficantly contributed to raising Mr Vorster's wall, and Canadian corporations and investors have profitted mightily whilst doing so. Now it is time that Canada helps dismantle that wall — brick by brick, right down to its very foundations.

Apartheid is "unacceptable to Canada in every way" (Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, Vancouver, 22 August 1985)

"Despite world pressure, the government of South Africa has refused to change its policy of apartheid. . . ..The crisis [in South Africa] is getting worse day by day. The challenge that now faces the government of Canada is to take practical steps to help bring a peaceful end to apartheid. Canadians in every part of the country must raise their voices together to protest against a system that is offensive and abhorrent." (Secretary of State for External Affairs, Joe Clark, undated letter to Solidarity organisations, late 1985)

Until mid 1985 the policies of successive Canadian governments towards South Africa can be summarised as self-righteous rhetorical condemnation of the "evils" of apartheid on the one hand, whilst piously proclaiming business as usual with the highly profitable apartheid economy on the other.

This began to shift in 1985. Limited and largely symbolic sanctions were announced by Mr. Clark in July and extended in September. In doing so, the Secretary of State twice affirmed his government's willingness to sever all economic and diplomatic relations with South Africa unless "fundamental changes" were introduced. The Prime Minister twice repeated this in a speech to the United Nations. But still it seemed that this was largely rhetoric, as officials at External Affairs had little idea of the options being considered by the government, and seemed themselves largely opposed to sanctions.

Since the highly condemnatory report of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group in May, and the imposition of the new State of Emergency by the Pretoria regime in June, the sanctions issue has moved to the centre of Canada's foreign policy concerns. Given the split in the Commonwealth between Britain on the one hand and all the other members on the other, it does seem likely that the Canadian government must take further economic measures against South Africa, both on its own and in concert with other Commonwealth countries. The most likely is the prohibition of imports of South African fruit.

It is however difficult to anticipate the precise policies the government will adopt, or the extent of its willingness to oppose Britain and keep to the assurances given by Mr Mulroney and Mr Clark. Moreover events are now unfolding so rapidly that it is impossible to keep up with them in a paper of this nature.

It is important to conclude however, with an assesment of the significance of Canadian action on the sanctions issue. International action is one of the crucial variables which will determine how long the apartheid regime survives, and what damage it does to the people and economies of South and southern Africa in this its terminal crisis. Because of the peculiar structure of the South African economy it is highly vulnerable to economic pressure, and sanctions against Pretoria would be highly effective.

In the context of an absolute vacuum of leadership amongst the Western powers on the issue of South Africa, Canada is uniquely placed in the international community to play a role in such international action far out of proportion to its economic involvement in South Africa and Namibia, and its ranking amongst' the world powers.

Canada's special relationship with both the US and Britain, its position in the Commonwealth and the Francophone community of nations, and prestigious standing in the Third World — and particularly the majority-ruled states of southern Africa — mean that unique amongst the Western powers, it is ideally placed to play a key brokerage role in the development of an international consensus for action to end apartheid.

This would be perhaps the only policy area in which the Mulroney government could claim an unambigious success. But to do so, it would need to act decisively and quickly — to translate the rhetoric to the United Nations into firm Canadian policy. In the last half of 1986, Canada should abandon empty rhetoric and pick up the real sticks and stones of a sanctions policy. Anything less would be to stand by and allow the apartheid regime to continue its bloody and desperate way.

Demonstration against Glen Babb, Ambassador of South Africa, when he spoke at the University of Toronto, January, 1986.

MARGIE BRUUN-MEYER

This is from a kit called **South Africa on the Move**, available from CUSO, ECSA desk, 135 Rideau St., Ottawa, Ont. K1N 9K7.

SOUTH AFRICAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

Introduction: the urban uprising and the crisis of apartheid

By now the images are well known.

The angular, ugly "Caspir" and "Hippo" armoured troop carriers speeding between the tin shacks of black townships. The harsh African sun filtered through clouds of dust. The taut, tense faces of the teenage white soldiers pointing their automatic rifles at the crowd. Police nervously slapping their whips against their boots, glaring at the thousands of blacks across the road. The wall of sound from the freedom songs and the sea of the black green and gold flags of the banned African National Congress (ANC).

The grey clouds of tear gas slowly billowing over the crowd, as the police and soldiers crouch over their guns, firing into the crowd. The rocks thrown by the young blacks, wet handkerchiefs their only protection against the tear gas, as they jeer at their white compatriots. The police charge, the whippings, the screams, the bodies in the street — mostly shot in the back. And the abiding sense of anger.

Over the past two years Canadians have become familiar with such television images of the civil war in South Africa. They have taken their place with the broken buildings of Beiruit as symptomatic of yet another seem-

IMPACT VISUALS

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ingly intractable problem in the world out there. Such images do convey something of the drama of the growing resistance South Africa — but they do little to help us understand the content, scope, development and direction of that resistance.

The black resistance today assumes myriad forms and touches all sectors of daily life. Contrary to the impression conveyed by TV images, it goes way beyond anarchic violence into an increasingly organised challenge to the apartheid state. Since September 1984 a gathering urban revolt has spread right across South Africa. By May 1986 the sustained popular uprising had rendered most urban black townships "ungovernable". The administrative structures set up by the central apartheid state for these areas have been almost completely destroyed. In many areas basic administrative functions are being assumed by local "street committees" and "peoples' courts" (see below). The intensity of popular resistance has turned some townships into "no go" areas for the security forces of the regime, and the police have admitted that the ANC is now giving military training to young recruits inside South Africa.

The apartheid regime has entered its terminal crisis. Unable to contain the revolt, it has exhausted its political options, alienated its historic and more recent bases of support in the white population, confronts the worst economic crisis in the country's history and is increasingly isolated from its international allies. With its "reform" initiative totally discredited, the Botha regime has no response to this crisis other than ever more intensified repression. It has lost politically, morally, ideologically, but not yet militarily. Its terminal crisis is likely to be protracted and very, very violent. In the past months the regime has taken to inciting and arming conservative and tribalist black groups in horrific violence against the democratic resistance. Such "divide and rule" tactics are now all that is left to it.

The resistance in the factories and the streets which produced this crisis did not spring from a vacuum. Rather it grows out of and reflects the long tradition of sharp resistance to colonial domination and white rule. To grasp the current direction of that resistance, it is important to understand something of its history, and particularly the important developments since 1976.

The tradition of resistance

White colonialism did not triumph easily in South Africa. It took over 250 years of colonial wars before the last armed black resistance was put down in 1906 — just four years before Britain allowed its four self-governing South African colonies to merge into a single white state.

In 1912 the African National Congress (ANC) was formed to unite African opposition to white domination. In its early years the ANC was a small organisation based on the emerging African intelligentsia and middle classes, employing strictly constitutional methods. During the 1920s the new African industrial working class began to develop its own economic and political organisations. In the 1940s the working class and middle class trends in African opposition increasingly began to cooperate. The combined pressure of the large democratic trade union movement (over 150,000 members) and the radical Congress Youth League — in which Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo were leading figures — the ANC's careful politics of constitutional protest slowly gave way to a commitment to passive resistance.

This trend was accelerated by the coming to power of the National Party under its apartheid program in 1948. The strong repressive measures the new government took against all sections of the democratic opposition forced a re-thinking of organisation, strategies and demands.

In the 1950s the ANC transformed itself into a radical mass nationalist movement. Under its new President — the 1960 Nobel Peace Prize winner, Chief Albert Luthuli — paid-up ANC membership grew to over 100,000. Now the Gandhian methods of mass, non-violent resistance guided the ANC actions. A series of campaigns demonstrated powerful support. In this period the ANC joined with other democratic organisations to form the Congress Alliance. In 1955 the Alliance organised the most representative gathering ever of the South African people. The 3,000 delegates to this Congress of the People adopted the Freedom Charter as a vision of a future non-racial political and economic democracy for South Africa. The ANC adopted the Charter as its official program the following year.

The political ferment of the 1950s produced other significant organisations. In 1955 the surviving democratic trade unions formed themselves into the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU). SACTU represented a new kind of political trade unionism in South Africa, one which sought to link the struggle for higher wages and improved working conditions to "the struggle for political rights and liberation", and SACTU became an active member of the Congress Alliance. By 1960 it had 19 affiliated unions with 54,000 paid-up members.

The radicalisation of the ANC in the 1950s, and particularly its turn to workers, its commitment to nationalisation of key sectors of the economy and formal adoption of non-racialism, prompted sharp ideological divisions. An "Africanist" faction based mainly in the Transvaal attacked what they called the "leftist" Luthuli leadership and pleaded for "authentic African nationalism". Working with elements in the Youth League impatient with the ANC's insistence on non-violence, they left the ANC in 1959 to form the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC).

The mass non-violent campaigns of the 1950s met with strong state repression. In 1956 over 150 leaders of the ANC were charged with Treason. Individual ANC leaders — particularly Chief Luthuli and Nelson Mandela — together with leading trade unionists were banned from political activity. This growing repression culminated with the Sharpeville massacre in March 1960 when 69 unarmed and peaceful demonstrators were shot dead by the police. The ANC and PAC were declared illegal organisations a few days later.

This marked an irrevocable turning point in the history of resistance. Itself now outlawed, with its leaders and membership imprisoned in their thousands, the ANC finally decided that the non-violent tactics of the past 50 years were now futile. It had to "submit or fight". Choosing the latter, it set up an armed wing uMKhonto we Sizwe (MK) in 1961, and began a series of sabotage attacks.

However the organisation was ill-prepared for the transition from the high profile politics of legal mass campaigns to the underground organisation essential for armed

IMPACT VISUALS

struggle. Draconian security measures over the next three years led to thousands of political detentions, and by the end of 1964 the ANC's underground machinery had been wiped out. Mandela and other key ANC leaders were sent to prison for life at the "Rivonia" trial. Through a policy of banning any leaders who surfaced in public, the state effectively drove SACTU into exile and destroyed all other democratic organisations. The PAC largely collapsed in exile. With the liberation movement defeated and exiled, political passivity was widespread for nearly a decade. Only in the 1970s did a real resurgence begin.

The political re-awakening of the 1970s

Two largely separate trends dominated the newly emerging resistance politics of the 1970s — the black consciousness movement and the new democratic trade unions.

The Black Conciousness Movement (BCM) grew out of the organisations of black students at the end of the 1960s. Rejecting the "paternalistic domination of white liberals" it argued that Blacks had to liberate themselves psychologically by rejecting all "Eurocentric" values and developing a "positive black world view". Only blacks could liberate blacks through the harnessing of the collective energies of all black people in "solidarity in organisation". This led to a rigid exclusion of all whites from "black" activities.

Based mainly on students and intellectuals, the vocal and activist-oriented BCM was crucial in regenerating a strong sense of black pride which shattered the long period of political passivity. The BCM was the leading force in the 1976 Soweto rebellion. However Soweto revealed the failure of the BCM to organise a wider base in the community and particularly among black workers, and thus highlighted the limitations of the Black Consciousness liberation strategy. In late 1977 its leading ideologue Steve Biko was murdered by the police whilst in prison and 18 Black Consciousness organisations were banned. Though other BC groups emerged, they were never able to recapture the initiative in the black politics, which now increasingly shifted to worker-oriented organisations.

In the early 1970s black workers began slowly to reorganise themselves. The wave of strikes which swept the country in 1972-3 created the groundswell for the emergence of a newer and strong non racial democratic trade unionism. By 1975 the new unions had 20,000 members.

These unions placed a central emphasis on internal, shop floor democracy. Unions were to be controlled by workers rather than paid officials, mainly through a structured and elected shop stewards network. Consolidating this internal factory floor democracy was a central focus of the steady efforts to rebuild the black trade unions. Until the end of the 1970s, local struggles around wages and working conditions were linked to the [then] major political demand of the new unions — the right to organise.

The developing challenge to apartheid

These two main political trends of the early 1970s, the trade unions and the BCM, appealed to different constituencies and remained clearly separate from each other. In the second half of the 1970s however, political conditions in South Africa changed rapidly, generating a complex realignment of forces in the resistance, and a growing challenge to white rule. The bloody suppression of the 1976 Soweto revolt, the defeat of the South African army in its first invasion of Angola 1975-6, the banning of all Black Consciousness Organisations in 1977 — when taken in the context of a deep economic recession — provoked a deep paralysis in the ruling National Party. This finally precipitated the coming to power of P.W. Botha in 1978 and the adoption of a new strategy to protect the structure of white power and privilege.

The Botha government was based on a new alliance between the South African military and big business. It recognised the need to modernise apartheid if the basic structure of economic and political power was to be preserved. Through its Total Strategy it intensified the basic props of apartheid whilst a series of petty modifications to the position of middle class blacks was intended to win black support for the existing system. Its overall effect however was to expose the limits beyond which the so-called "reforms" of the regime would not go. This then precipitated the steady growth of organised resistance at all levels.

Shortly after P.W. Botha took office a plethora of small, local organisations, began to appear, built around bread and butter issues such as rents, housing facilities, bus fares, squatters rights and education issues etc. These groups spread rapidly, mobilising and organising people who had not been reached by either the earlier Black consciousness groups or the new trade unions. By 1980 South Africa was criss-crossed by a network of community groups, civic association, womens groups, and student organisations. The 1980 student boycott of schools revealed much tighter organised links between students and workers than in 1976. Trade union struggles began to feed into these local groups, creating a groundswell of organisation around local and national political issues, as well as alliances between community struggles and trade union struggles.

The two major political trends of the early 1970s, the trade unions and BCM were transformed in the process. By the end of the 1970s, many unions were playing an important role in local community politics. Strikes in bread factories (1979), at Ford (1979), the meat industry (1980), Wilson-Roundtree (1981-2) and others showed how industrial disputes could mobilise local communities, and boycott campaigns by black consumers developed into an important weapon in strikes. Arguing that the working class had interests going beyond the factory, many unions — particularly GWU and SAAWU — combined a strategy of mobilising community support for workers' struggles with one of mobilising its members to campaign on local political issues. SAAWU's campaign against the sham independence of the Ciskei bantustan provoked a savage response by the apartheid state. Other unions, most notably those in FOSATU, opposed the thrust of what it called "community-based unions", arguing that the primary task of the new unions was to consolidate factory floor organisation in industrial unions and that "you can't fight the state and the employers at the same time".

This debate over community involvement was often intense. It often spilled over into arguments over the political role of the democratic unions in the struggle against apartheid. The exiled SACTU sent cadres into South Africa to argue in all unions that the "economic" struggles of workers

must be connected to the liberation struggle. Drawing explicitly on the SACTU tradition, some unions argued that unions had to involve themselves in broader political struggles, forging alliances with other groups. FOSATU on the other hand took the position in 1982 that while the democratic trade unions had an explicitly political role, they should not link themselves with what it called "populist" struggles against apartheid in order to ensure that "the popular movement is not highjacked by elements who in the end will have no option but to turn against their worker supporters". The depth of this debate within the union movement highlighted how far the new unions had come in a decade, to emerge as the leading organisations of the legal resistance. The demands and debates of organised workers were beginning to structure the entire context of resistance politics. This transformed the character of many organisations.

Two years after the 1977 banning of the black consciousness groups, a new BC organisation was formed, the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (AZAPO). Claiming to have advanced beyond the "mistakes" of the earlier Black Consciousness groups, AZAPO now argued that the issue in south Africa was capitalism. All whites were capitalists and all blacks were workers, and liberation was to be found in the "class struggle" between them. It continued the earlier BC antagonism to white participation and to the Freedom Charter.

The formation of AZAPO also precipitated the formation of new student BC groups, namely the Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO) for university students, and the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) for secondary school students. However the political orientation of the resistance had changed dramatically since the early 1970s. Through the trade unions and community organisations, it was very largely workers who gave a coherent thrust to the new resistance. When coupled with the extremely confused position of the main BC organisation, AZAPO, and its distance from real local struggles, the new thrust of popular resistance transformed the two new student organisations. Both now abandoned the "student vanguardism" of the early 1970s, and in 1981 declared their support for the Freedom Charter — removing themselves from the Black Consciousness camp. COSAS in particular argued that the role of student organisations was "to support the struggle of workers. . . .especially in the trade union and community fronts" (see paper on the youth). Working together and with the democratic white students' organisation, NUSAS, these student organisations concentrated on preparing an Education Charter as a program for a democratic education system.

This political turn by COSAS and AZASO created something of a crisis for the new Black Consciousness movement, depriving it of its previously most important constituency, the students. Despite more recent connections with "independent left" groups and an overt adoption of a socialist program, AZAPO has never really been able to generate a large, organised political base, and its influence remains largely confined to intellectual circles. Its intense focus on ideological issues however does give it a significant, if minority role in some black communities.

Feeding into and underlying this proliferation of popular organisations and struggles in the late 1970s were the activities of the banned ANC. Following the Soweto uprising, thousands of young blacks fled South Africa determined to fight back against the regime with more than the stones and desperate courage of 1976. The vast majority of these highly politicised youths joined the armed wing of the ANC, uMKhonto we Sizwe (the Spear of the Nation). The ANC concentrated on two types of activity. Its political work sought to build up support for its program, the Freedom Charter. By the end of 1980 most popular campaigns were being fought in terms of the demands of the Charter. The slogan for a rent strike for example would be the Charter demand: "There Shall Be Houses, Security and Comfort for All".

The other side of ANC work was the armed propaganda carried out by uMKhonto we Sizwe. This sought to establish the capacity of the ANC to launch military actions anywhere in the country, particularly against installations associated with apartheid, and to support local struggles. Military spectaculars such as the coordinated attack on the three state-run oil from coal SASOL plants in 1980, and on the Koeberg nuclear power station in 1983 were the most visible of this proliferation of ANC armed actions. By 1982 the regime's Minister of Law and Order lamented that "the ANC is everywhere". While the ANC's military capacities remained limited, their psychological impact on both the black and white populations can hardly be overstated. For Black South Africans this highly visible ANC activity was a crucial catalyst in the developing sense of confidence of the resistance. Whites on the other hand were thrown into an exaggerated sense of panic, and these attacks were likewise crucial to a slow seepage of white morale and confidence in the capacity of the regime to continue to control the situation.

Power, unity and the regime in retreat

The real significance of this profusion of organised black opposition was three-fold.

Firstly, the often successful struggles of local groups focused directly on their perilous economic plight under apartheid. This then raised the real issue of political control by local communities over the conditions of their daily lives. Through these local struggles, and more particularly through the growing organised strength of the new trade unions, the issues of political and economic power began to fuse. In practical day to day struggles, in the real demands of the organisations on the ground — rather than on the paper manifestos of intellectuals — the struggle against apartheid increasingly became a struggle for political and economic power.

By the early 1980s it was clear that any resolution of apartheid would have to involve far more than a simple inclusion of blacks within the political structures of the state, or even a black majority in Parliament. Now it would have to involve a real shift in control over the wealth of the country. This had long been a basic demand of the ANC — encapsulated in the Freedom Charter demand: "The People Shall Share in the Country's Wealth". Now it had become political reality.

The spread of popular organisations, the growing strength of the resistance, and the increasingly desperate maneouvres of the regime, began to point, secondly, to the need for wider, national organisation and unity.

The announcement by the regime of a "new constitutional dispensation" and its plans for a white-controlled, segregated tri-cameral parliament brought ever wider cooperation between a wide range of groups and organisations. In August 1983, 575 organisations, with a claimed total membership of over 2 million, formed the United Democratic Front (UDF). The UDF sought to build "unity in action" of all democratic groups in a non-violent struggle for a non-racial democracy. Its affiliates included trade unions, civic and community groups, womens' organisations, student, religious, sporting and other bodies. Its major campaign in the year which followed was against the upcoming elections for the tri-cameral parliament. Though the UDF did not formally adopt the Freedom Charter as its program, it clearly located itself within the "Congress tradition" of resistance, so much so that many mistakenly saw it as a front for the ANC.

The small Black Consciousness-oriented groups declined to join in the general non-racial approach of the UDF. Aligning themselves with even smaller "independent left" groups — particularly around Cape Town — they convened a National Forum in July 1983. This pronounced a policy of "anti-racism" and produced a Manifesto of the Azanian People proclaiming the need for a "black workers' republic". The National Forum claims an affiliated membership of over 500,000 in mid 1986— though this is usually regarded as a wild overestimate. A prominent trade unionist has gone on record to claim that its affiliated Azanian Congress of Trade Unions (AZACTU) "doesn't have 90 members", let alone the claimed 95,000. Nonetheless, the new BC groups have crystallised as a significant, if minority force.

In August 1981 all democratic trade unions began meeting to discuss the question of unity. A number of thorny issues had to be resolved. The formation of the UDF sharpened the debate over the political role of the democratic trade unions. Some unions affiliated to the UDF, arguing that workers had to be involved in political struggles. SAAWU was the most prominent exponent of this line. CUSA also affiliated to the UDF — as well as to the National Forum. But most of the unions — particularly the GWU and those affiliated to FOSATU — stayed out. They argued that the multi-class base of the UDF and decision making structures would inhibit trade union participation. They also argued that the membership of the trade unions was drawn from diverse political backgrounds, and the unions themselves could not afford to affiliate to the generally pro-ANC UDF — although they would cooperate with it and urge their membership to involve themselves in UDF campaigns.

The savage repression by the regime helped the unions begin to transcend some of their differences on this issue. They supported and defended each other when attacked by the state. The escalation of forced removals, destruction of squatter camps and imposition of a new racist constitution on South Africa all helped galvanise unions beyond workplace struggles. In November 1984 the organised support of FOSATU and CUSA was crucial to the stunning success of a 2-day political strike organised in the Transvaal by the UDF's largest affiliate, the Congress of South African Students (COSAS). Over 90% of the workforce in the Vaal triangle stayed away from work. Though this successful cooperation between unions and community groups in the stay at home was not fully repeated in a later attempt in the Eastern Cape, a new form of direct cooperation emerged in the highly successful boycott of white retail outlets organised by trade unions and community groups in 1985. The differences over political tactics were being overcome. This strengthened the momentum for unity. Finally, in November 1985, 33 trade unions with over 550,000 paid-up members joined together to form the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) — see below and the trade union background paper.

The third consequence of the emerging strength of popular organisations in the late 1970s was to force the regime onto the defensive. P.W. Botha had come to office in 1978 with a strategy to seize the political initiative. As early as 1979 the successful resistance of the trade unions to the regime's attempts to refuse legal recognition to non-racial unions had begun to proscribe Botha's initiatives to modernise apartheid. The regime was obliged either to abandon or severely modify other key policies — such as the destruction of the Crossroads squatter camp, and the so-called Koornhof Bills.

This growing resistance thus both exposed the real limits of Botha's proclaimed "reformism" and undermined the basic thrust of its strategy, forcing the government onto the defensive. The most dramatic examples of this were at the political level. Botha's Total Strategy sought to divide black opposition by offering petty concessions to middle class Africans, and more importantly, incorporating the so-called Coloured and Asian groups into a very junior partnership with whites. The virtual total boycott in 1981 of elections for the puppet South African Indian Council sharply set back these plans. The overwhelmingly successful boycotts in 1984 of elections for the first of the regime's new so-called Black Local Authorities and then for the Coloured and Indian "Houses" of its racially segregated tri-cameral parliament, finally destroyed the regime's political strategy. More significantly, the installation of the Local Authorities and the tri-cameral parliament actually ignited the current uprising against Apartheid in late 1984.

From resistance to revolt

In September 1984 the regime's new Black Local Authority in one township attempted to raise revenue by increasing the township rents. This sparked a riot in which the population attacked the puppet Councillors, burning their homes and killing some of them. The South African army was called in to assist the overstretched police force — and the black urban uprising which whites had feared for so long, began. Appropriately, it started in a township named Sharpeville.

Resistance to apartheid today covers all levels of society in all areas of South Africa. Schematically, the four most important elements are the youth, the organised working class, the intensifying armed struggle, and emerging and alternative structures of popular power. These four are deeply interconnected and their separate treatment for the purposes of analysis is largely artificial. It is also essential to see them in the context of the regime's new strategy of divide and rule through armed vigilantes.

The youth: shocktroops in the streets

The television images of the revolt in the streets show young people battling the police. More than half of the 1,600 people killed since late 1984 were children — the youngest victim was two month old Trocia Ndlovu, asphyxiated by tear gas at Mamelodi — and nearly two thirds of the thousands detained under the regime's State of Emergency were younger than 25. In 1985, 12 political detainees died in police cells. Three of these were younger than 17 and another four had not yet turned 21. The youth have been in the forefront of this revolt. In many ways it was the development of youth organisations which helped spark the uprising.

In 1984 the largest students' organisation, COSAS, began a campaign for democratic Students' Representative Councils in every school, and an end to sexual harassment and corporal punishment. These demands for self-determination began to address the broader question of political power. At the same time, learning from the 1976 uprising and the successes of the 1980 school boycott, COSAS was building closer links between students and workers and particularly with the the trade unions. The formation of the UDF and consolidation of organisational links at all levels clearly assisted this process, but it went beyond the minority of unions which had affiliated to the UDF. The total support of the trade unions for the stay away called by COSAS in the Vaal triangle in November 1984 ensured that almost 90% of the workforce in South Africa's industrial heartland struck work. This marked a crucial step forward and an emerging pattern of cooperation for the months which followed — one seen very clearly in the organised boycotts of white stores in numerous areas of the country in 1985. A worker-student alliance had begun to take root in the black community.

COSAS also recognised the need to extend the organisation of the youth out of the schools. Rigid age-limits imposed by the apartheid state tried to exclude militants from high schools and hence from COSAS. In 1984 Youth Congresses were formed to absorb this constituency and also to organise the growing numbers of unemployed young people. By the end of the year twenty such congresses had been formed, by mid 1986 a network of youth Congresses extended to even the smallest towns — where unemployment amongst black youth reaches 75%.

These congresses have organised around specifically political issues rather than school or civic questions. They infused an even stronger militancy into student and community politics, and today form a key part of the base of the UDF. When COSAS was outlawed during the 1985-6 State of Emergency, the growing network of Youth Congresses provided a ready-made organisational alternative, one which channelled student energies into directly political issues. This was clearly reflected in the more than year-long boycott of schools under the slogan "Liberation Now! Education Later".

When the ANC called on the black majority to make South Africa "ungovernable" in January 1985, it was this army of school students and youth organised in the Youth Congresses who responded. Known as the comrades, they led the attacks on people seen to be collaborating with the regime, drove the Local Authority Councillors and the black police out of the townships, confronted the police and army, and organised the funerals.

The pent-up anger against apartheid exploded into a combination of desperate courage and great violence. The comrades showed little mercy to people seen to be collaborating with the regime — the "necklace" of a gasoline-soaked burning tire emerged as the grisly symbol of their fate. In very many areas there was clear evidence of some kind of rudimentary military training being given to the organised youth — the production of molotov cocktails, preparation of anti-tank trenches, widespread theft of guns and grenades from the security forces — and rudimentary forms of military organisation also seemed to be emerging. At the mass funerals the sight of youth wearing the uniform of the ANC Youth League and carrying wooden rifles, marching under the ANC flag became common.

The destruction of the apartheid administrative structures pointed to a clear need for alternatives. With a strong input from the youth, "peoples' courts", "street committees" and Civic Associations have begun to take up the reigns of local adminstration (see below). These embryonic structures of popular power reflect a recognition of the need for tighter discipline and organisation. This is seen most clearly in the change in the students' slogan from "Liberation Now! Education Later" to "Peoples' Education for Peoples' Power". A National Education Crisis Conference (NECC) held in March 1986 decided that students should return to school and begin the struggle for "peoples' education" and "shift the balance of educational power, beginning by establishing a people's authority alongside the existing state authority". Crisis in Education Committees have been formed in most areas, coordinated by a national "Peoples' Education Secretariat" set up by the NECC. In many schools throughout South Africa, working with the majority of sympathetic teachers, students are beginning to impose their own syllabus on the state run schools, and their elected Councils now have an increasing say in the running of schools.

Organised workers

The formation in November 1985 of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) was an enormous advance at a number of levels.

The first is in terms of numbers of organised workers. During the 1976 Soweto uprising, perhaps 20,000 workers were organised in the democratic trade unions, and these workers were largely uninvolved in the Soweto events. Their unions were still fighting desperately for simple survival and for the right to organise. Today COSATU represents over 600,000 paid-up members of democratic trade unions, with perhaps another 80-100,000 organised in CUSA and AZACTU.

This growth in numbers was built, secondly, on an extraordinary consolidation of the organisational structures of workers control over the unions, particularly on the factory floor. The key to these structures is the shop stewards' committees. A 1983 survey found that together the democratic unions had nearly 6,000 shopstewards for the total membership of around 250,000. A further survey was made in late 1985 of 23 unions whose 323,000 members represented about 65% of total paid-up membership of democratic unions. The survey found a total of 12,462

shop stewards, one for every 29 members, compared with 306 paid officials, or one per 1,186 members. The number of workplaces organised rose from 756 to 3,421.

The growing numerical strength and organised democratic base of the unions has also been translated into a clear political perspective. In 1983 there were sharp divisions among the democratic unions over their political role. Some argued "you can't fight the bosses and the state at the same time", whilst others advocated a direct involvement in political issues. Other political divisions amongst the unions separated so-called "populists" — those who urged direct trade union involvement in the struggle against apartheid — from the so-called "workerists" — who favoured purely working class organisation, perhaps moving towards the formation of a new workers' party.

These divisions were often more acute at the level of leadership rather than amongst the rank and file, but were real nevertheless. However under the combined weight of growing state repression and rank and file pressure for a more directly political role, most unions moved more centrally into political issues — most clearly in the November 1985 Vaal triangle stay at home. The severity of state repression from the end of 1984 has drawn all trade unions and trade unionists directly into local political organisation and community affairs. Unions were a crucial force in the largely successful consumer boycotts. Union members have moved into important positions in Community and Civic Associations. Indeed in some townships, these Community Associations are little more than the trade union in the community. Johannesburg's Alexandra township for example — scene of some of the sharpest clashes with the police — is often described as a "union township" of the Metal and Allied Workers' Union, whose local leadership dominated the Alexandra Action Committee.

The formation of COSATU also marked the emergence of a common sense of political direction and strategy. Its founding congress committed COSATU to directly political issues. It declared support for overseas disinvestment campaigns, an essential and effective form of pressure on the apartheid regime. It issued an immediate demand for the repeal of the pass laws — threatening a defiance campaign should the regime fail to comply — an end to the State of Emergency, the withdrawal of the South African Army from black townships, the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, the repeal of orders banning individuals and organisations, the dismantling of the bantustan system, and an end to the migrant labour system on which the cheap labour structure of the South African economy has been built.

COSATU has shown that these are far more than resolutions on paper. In support of its call to make May Day a paid holiday it was able to mobilise over one and a half million workers and another one million school students in a general strike on May 1st.

The organised strength of the democractic trade union movement has fundamentally shifted the nature and direction of the struggle against apartheid, as well as the ideologies through which it is fought out. All elements in the popular resistance today accept at least the rhetoric that the working class is "the leading force" in the liberation struggle and that a post-apartheid South Africa must centrally reflect their interests — though there are of course varying interpretations of what this means and how to achieve it.

The collective working class vision contained in COSATU envisages fundamental changes to the South African economy and society. Committing itself to introduce education campaigns designed to politicise, mobilise and organise the working class, COSATU would explore "alternatives which would ensure that any society that emerged would accurately reflect the interests of the working class". Immediately after the Congress was formed its General-Secretary travelled to Zimbabwe to talk to the ANC and SACTU. In his own words:

"I told the ANC and SACTU delegation we did not want superficial changes, or black bosses to replace white bosses while the repressive machinery of State and capital remained intact. I expressed very clearly to them our commitment to see a society which was not only free of apartheid, but also free of the brutalising system under which black workers suffered. This meant a restructuring of society so that the wealth of the country would be shared among the people".

A March 1986 joint meeting between the leadership of COSATU, the ANC and SACTU agreed on the need for a non-racial democracy, but given the "centuries old economic injustices", one which went beyond "formal political democracy" to a system of "economic emancipation", and "the restructuring of the present economy." This meeting marked a degree of public agreement between the three organisations which would not have been possible three years earlier. It also clearly gave the lie to the view which argued that there was a sharp antagonism between the ANC/SACTU on the one hand, and the democratic trade unions on the other. Out of the meeting emerged a common sense of the need for "disciplined alliances", with COSATU allocated a leading role in representing and mobilising workers in political struggles. With this joint declaration, the democratic trade unions have now clearly moved much closer to the ANC, and virtually acknowledged its leading political role. However, while COSATU is committed to cooperation with the liberation movement in the common struggle, it retains a fierce independence and can in no sense be seen as "the trade union wing" of the ANC. The way in which COSATU and the ANC work out their emerging relationship will have a great bearing on the direction of a post-apartheid South Africa.

A key factor here will be the role played by the South African Communist Party (SACP). Claims from both the regime and various Trotskyist critics of the SACP that the party "controls" the ANC can be immediately dismissed as nonsense. Yet given that the SACP is an underground cadre party which works in a very tight alliance with the ANC, it is difficult to assess its real role and influence. The SACP has long had a major role in uMKhonto we Sizwe (MK), and its current chairman, Joe Slovo, is the MK Chief of Staff and perhaps its most important strategist. In the past 18 months SACP flags and slogans have appeared at funerals and the Party is clearly taking a much more public position inside South Africa. Its influence inside South Africa is clearly growing and this is reflected in subtle shifts in the public statements of its Central Committee. The old

insistence of a rigid two stage struggle — first the national democratic revolution and only then the socialist — has clearly given way to a more sophisticated view which sees the national democratic struggle as laying the basis for a transition to socialism. The most recent such statement emphasises the need for the SACP to "engage actively in the ideological and political struggle to win over as many people as possible, especially workers, to the ideas of scientific socialism", and to combat tendencies which "- among other things, pose the democratic, in opposition to the socialist, revolution".

The ANC and the armed struggle

In March 1984, the apartheid regime obliged its socialist neighbour, Mozambique, to sign a "Non Aggression and Good Neighbourliness" Pact with South Africa. Known as the Nkomati Accord, this agreement was intended by Pretoria to "drive the ANC out of Africa south of Cairo". By mid 1984 the head of the South African army was predicting that the ANC would soon be reduced to a "minor irritation". Barely a year later, such was the ANC's looming presence in South African politics that the country's leading businessmen ignored P.W. Botha's accusations of treason and travelled to Zambia to talk to the ANC leadership. By the end of 1985 a veritable flood of white groups were making the trek to the ANC's Lusaka headquarters.

The real strength of popular support for the ANC was shown very clearly in 1985. Most visible are the profusion of ANC flags, the uniforms of the ANC Youth League , the ANC songs at almost every gathering — and the vastly increased actions of its armed wing, uMKhonto we Sizwe (MK). Despite the severe logistical problems the Nkomati Accord created for the ANC, it did not reduce the incidence of MK armed actions in 1984. In 1985, according to the regime's figures the number of MK attacks trebled to reach 142. The same figures reveal that the incidence of MK attacks nearly doubled again in the first four months of 1986. The Institute of Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria claims that the incidence of "armed revolutionary violence" has increased by "800% in the past two years".

Even more significant was the changing nature of the targets. For the first time land mines were used against the white farmers organised into Commando units by the South African army. Armed actions in the bantustans increased dramatically. In the townships landmines were used against police Caspirs. Police convoys into the townships now frequently come under small arms fire, and police attacking township demonstrators are being shot at with AK47 rifles — the ANC's basic weapon.

Reporting on the "five or six" gun battles between police and residents of Cape Town's black townships in the first three months of 1986, Lieutenant Attie Laubscher said: "in the past they fired at us during the night so that we couldn't see who was doing the shooting or establish which direction it was coming from. Nowadays they open fire on us during the day. . .We can't see who is doing the shooting. They are not using light caliber either". The security forces now admit that sometimes they now confront "no go areas" in some townships, and also report that the ANC is now conducting "internal [military] training programs".

In July 1985, the ANC held a National Consultative Conference in Zambia. The delegates decided that the armed struggle would now be taken to the white areas of South Africa. It also concluded that the "unique combination of revolutionary factors" made it possible to move the armed struggle from the stage of guerilla war to "peoples' war". This necessitated a steady arming and training of the population. Reports have begun to surface in the South African press about the formation in many townships of "peoples' defence units" — basic militia units to protect local populations from the brutal attacks of vigilante groups unleashed by the state, particularly the tribalist Inkatha group KwaZulu bantustan leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

In South Africa today nobody but the Botha government and the groups on the lunatic far right fails to recognise that there is no solution to the crisis without the ANC. Power groups in the white establishment have called for it to be unbanned. The uprising which has swept South Africa has also propelled the ANC — and its imprisoned leader Nelson Mandela — centre stage. The ANC's presence in South Africa is primarily political. The organisation has always seen its military action as simply part of the wider political struggle. Today it is looked to not only as the only armed force capable of both defending the population against the regime and its collaborators, and fighting back, but more importantly, for political leadership.

A curiously symbiotic relationship has emerged between the ANC and the current revolt. As the ANC itself admits, it does not control the day to day events on the street. Yet as the burgeoning support for the movement indicates, its strategic and tactical input has been and continues to be vital to the unfolding direction taken by the revolt. The ANC's call to make South Africa ungovernable met with a massive response. Its stress in April 1985 on the need to "replace the collapsing government stooge committee councils with peoples' power" accelerated the formation of street committees across South Africa. Its insistence on the need for improved organisation and discipline was likewise a factor in the UDF's adoption of the slogan from "Mobilisation to Organisation", and more concretely, the move for students to return to school to organise the structures of "peoples' education". But as the people have responded to the ANC, the organisation itself admits it has also had to move quickly simply to keep up with the unfolding spontaneous actions of local groups. And it has also not yet been able to meet the urgent need for arms and trained military cadres to local groups in their fight against growing vigilante attacks.

Surviving the repression: from ungovernability to peoples power?

At the end of May 1986, the ANC issued a further call to the South African people to move their revolt against apartheid "from ungovernability to peoples' power". As the ANC itself realises, this depends on both military and political variables. The key military variable will be the ANC's capacity to expand the armed struggle — to extend its armed actions into areas where they have been limited, particularly the bantustans; to arm the emerging "peoples' self defence militias" so that they can defend the population against marauding armoured cars and vigilante groups with more than just molotov cocktails and even small arms; and to begin to inflict heavier casualties on the security forces of apartheid, to weaken their morale.

The other crucial variable is political — the ability of the population to develop for themselves alternative administrative and judicial structures to those imposed by apartheid. This process has begun. The intense violence of the struggle for power in the townships captured media attention. Very little attention has been paid however to the more "positive" aspect of this "ingovernability" — the emerging structures of alternative power. Since mid 1984 there has been a slow but gathering proliferation of "street committees", "peoples' courts", "crisis in education committees" and civic associations. Today, these new structures are to be found in many townships right across the country, including some of the bantustans.

The first street committees emerged in the township of Cradock in the Eastern Cape. Basing themselves quite self consciously on the old local structures of the ANC 1950s M-plan, activists from the townships Residents' Association (CRADORA) went from "house to house explaining what CRADORA stood for and what it hoped to do". They then began electing street committees by holding a public meeting in each area of the township: "Each house would vote for their street representative". The example was picked up first in other Eastern Cape townships and spread to the Transvaal in 1985.

In Pretoria's Mamelodi township the youth congresses played a leading role. According to Mike Seloane of the Mamelodi Youth Organisation: "some elements highjacked the struggle for their own ends", extorting money from residents in the name of COSAS, "We decided to launch an operation clean-up in June [1985] to weed out criminals and hooligans using the political struggle for their own ends. When the state suspended garbage collection in an effort to break a rent strike, we included garbage collection in the clean-up operation and soon we engaged in a house to house campaign to get people to isolate the police and administration. We tried to persuade people not to pay rent or lay any charge at the police station. This resulted in the formation of "people's courts" to deal with petty crime. But this also led to other elements using the courts to settle personal feuds. . . .It was then that we hit on the idea of setting up street committees to deal with problems affecting a particular street".

In Mamelodi this street level structure then gave rise to section committees grouping a number of street committees and finally to the formation of an overarching Mamelodi Civic Association. The street committees are elected by all the residents of a particular street. Two representatives from each street committee in a section of the township form the section committees, and the executive of the Civic Association is elected from an assembly of all these structures.

The activists claim that such local structures are based on a "policy of accountability" — discussion and mandates from the people to the executive and reports back by the executive to the people. "This is what we understand by people's democracy. People participate in decision-making and in carrying out those decisions. This form of organisation is necessary because it was difficult to deal with issues adequately at mass meetings. Also the state clampdown is heightening, and mass meetings may soon not be allowed at all."

Through such structures basic administrative functions are carried out, and activists make the connection between local and national issues. "Peoples courts" administer a rough popular justice. Held whenever there a plaintiff and accused, their "main aim is rehabilitation, to educate the wrongdoer and make him a better person". Petty thieves could expect to be sentenced to community tasks, such as watering and painting the parks built in some townships by the street committees. Other penalties are harsher; a rapist for example can expect 25 or 30 lashes with a sjambok (hippo-hide whip). Says one local activist: "The community must be the judge and must see that justice is done." Collaborators are dealt with very roughly, though most activists claim that malpractices and "necklacing" are discouraged because "they could rebound on the struggle and we do not intend to destroy people". The British press has reported instances of people being aquitted of the dreaded charge of "furthering the aims of the police".

The character, effectiveness, and degree of accountability of these new emerging structures obviously varies wildly. They share a common aim however: through these committees "the people must gain confidence in what we [the activists] are doing, so that they can break away totally from government structures. The government must become irrelevant to their lives". This is a bold project which seeks to build the real structures of popular power before the collapse of the apartheid state. Its success is one of the key variables of the unfolding popular revolt in South Africa, and the state has not stood by idly. In many townships conservative vigilante groups have been armed and incited into attacks on the community organisations. The most dramatic example was the pitched battle at the Crossroads squatter camp where 4,000 armed vigilantes physically destroyed the community centre and killed close to sixty people.

The emerging "peoples' defence committees" are an attempt to meet this threat. They point to the interconnection of the armed and political struggles in South Africa today. And they highlight the fact that while the apartheid state has lost the political, ideological and moral battle it has not yet lost the military battle. The resistance is certainly winning politically, ideological and morally. Today it needs to survive militarily — and not just against the white state.

Apartheid's new divide and rule tactics

Apartheid has always been based on the old colonial tactic of divide and rule. Through its bantustan policy it tried to retribalise black society. Its later local government policies sought to set up corrupt local mafias with a vested interest in the current system, as a bulwark against mass resistance. The whole farce of its tri-cameral parliament tried to give Indian and Coloured elites a real though minority stake in white power and weaken the developing non-racial opposition.

The destruction of apartheid local government structures by the popular uprising, and the total political bankruptcy of Botha's so-called "reform" policy have driven it back onto an even more vicious version of divide and rule. The so-called "black on black" violence which has attracted so much attention is very largely the outcome of this strategy.

There are two really important elements here. The first is the simple arming and inciting of conservative local black

groups into attacks on the youth, the trade unions, the civic associations — in short anything seen to be associated with the resistance. Right-wing black vigilante groups have sprung up all over South Africa. Their targets are the militants. Their methods are uniformly brutal. In Leandra, local community leader Chief "Ampie" Mayisa was savagely hacked to death by vigilantes calling themselves the "A-Team". Durban trade unionist Tom Dweba was found with "his head nearly severed from his body and his hands cut off". A powerful "Nail bomb" thrown at the house of Brits trade unionist David Modimoeng killed his wife and injured his sleeping children. The catalogue of vigilante violence is horrifying and very widespread.

The television coverage of the attacks by the vigilante group called "the fathers" on the young "comrades" in Cape Town's Crossroads township has also highlighted the key role of the South African police in the vigilante attacks. CBC television showed a number of vigilante gangs in Crossroads being led by rifle-toting — and in one case — uniformed whites. Witnesses interviewed named the policemen involved. A meticulously documented study of the vigilantes by the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of Witwatersrand has shown the extent of police links with the various vigilante groups. In no case have the police intervened to stop vigilante attacks on trade unionists, students or the supporters of the United Democratic Front.

At a UDF press conference at the end of May, a "captured" vigilante — 19 year-old unemployed Abraham Zwane of Kathlehong township — admitted that he had been paid R120 (Cdn $60) by the police to attack activists' homes, in the course of which a three-month-old baby died. Security Policemen had later fetched him and told him that President P.W. Botha would be "very happy" if Kathlehong Youth League activist Satch Chawe was "eliminated". He was promised R500. Accompanied by 13 other vigilantes and two white and three black policemen he had thrown bricks and petrol bombs at seven homes of known political activists, before he was chased and caught by his intended victim, Satch Chawe. Zwane confessed after being told he would be spared "the necklace".

The first of the intended effects of the vigilante violence has been to do what the regime's police were unable to do — push the resistance onto the defensive in some areas. These vigilantes are the hired puppets of the apartheid state and its bantustan collaborators. Their violence is intended to preserve the existing order of things.

But there is a second important element to the vigilantes. As apartheid society unravels, a real struggle is developing over what kind of society will replace it. Another strand in the vigilantes grows out of escalating conflict over control of the content of the changes to come. Particularly where black communities are sharply divided and stratified, conservative groups have shown a growing willingness to use violence to alter the balance of power in local politics in their favour. According to another detailed study, small township traders, black policemen, councillors, teachers and church elders form the core of the vigilante groups fighting for a conservative future.

This second strand of vigilantes show little compunction in using whatever assistance the apartheid state will give them. As the regime loses control, it clearly sees a Lebanonisation of black politics as one of the ways of delaying its inevitable collapse. Here the two strands of the vigilantes coincide, and they do so most clearly in the tribalist Inkatha group of Gatsha Buthelezi.

As the head of the KwaZulu bantustan, Buthelezi plays a key role in the apartheid state's administrative structure. Yet his role is far more complicated than that of a simple puppet. Buthelezi has a real, if tribalist, base of support in the black population — to this extent he is a product of the regime's tribalisation policies. Yet he also represents a radically conservative possible black future. His KwaZulu bantustan is a ruthless, one party dictatorship, and any criticism of its leader is sharply stamped upon. Buthelezi's armed impis in fact began the attacks on democratic student groups in 1983, when they killed five students, and have escalated their violence against first the UDF, and now much more concertedly against COSATU activists, in which many have been killed. Buthelezi is clearly trying to carve out a central political role for himself in the post-apartheid society, one clearly at odds with the democratic and redistributive tradition represented by the ANC.

In doing so he has allowed himself to be used by Pretoria, but he is clearly not just its puppet. From Pretoria's point of view, this "Inkatha option" represents exactly the sort of strategy which it has sought to use against black governments in neighbouring countries, and Buthelezi is rapidly developing into the Jonas Savimbi of South African politics.

South Africa ten years after Soweto

The year 1986 is the 10th anniversary of the Soweto uprising. There are startling similarities between the crisis of today and that of ten years ago. The regime is isolated internationally and regionally as it was in 1976. It is sharply divided internally, confronts the worst economic crisis in the country's history, and clearly cannot control its black majority in the old way.

But here the similarities end. Whereas the apartheid state was finally able to contain the crisis of the mid-1970s through the Total Strategy, today there is no effective political force in the white establishment with any coherent political strategy. White "reformism" has been totally discredited both where it really matters — in the black population — and internationally. South Africa's international isolation is qualitatively different to 1976 — real international sanctions are a looming probability, and even the regime's staunchest allies, such as the US and UK, now concede that a total dismantling of apartheid is essential. The regional strategy of the United States has collapsed and there is an absolute vacuum of Western leadership over the issue of Southern Africa. Domestically, the white population is fragmenting into armed factions, the lower ranks of the police force and professional core of the army are increasingly restive, and the real possibility of armed conflict amongst whites looms.

All of this is the result of the most important qualitative difference with the 1976 uprising — the range and depth, the level of organisation, and the strategic coherence in the resistance. Today, all levels of the resistance are hugely confident that they will win in the not too distant future. The Soweto rebellion shook the white state, the current rebellion will probably destroy it.

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60 Maryland St.
Winnipeg Manitoba
R3G 1K7
(204) 772-3164

NEW BRUNSWICK

Developpement et Paix
1428 St. Peter Ave
Bathurst
New Brunswick
E2A 3A8
(506) 548-9623

CUSO
180 St. John St.
Fredericton
New Brunswick
E3B 4A9
(506) 455-9471

NEWFOUNDLAND

Bob Buckingham
66 Woodcrescent
Gander Nfld
A1Z 2B1
(709) 651-2164

C.C.O.D.P.
P.O. Box 312
Gander Nfld
A1B 1K0
(709) 651-4355

Anti-Apartheid Working Group
PO Box 18000
St. Johns Nfld
A1C 6C2
(709) 753-2202

OXFAM Centre
PO Box 18000
St. Johns Nfld
A1C 1H8
(709) 753-2202

N.W.T.

N.W.T. Anti-Apartheid Movement
PO Box 2486
Inuvik
N.W.T.
X0E 0T0

NOVA SCOTIA

C.C.O.D.P.
118 St. Ninians St
Antigonish
Nova Scotia
B2G 1V9
(902) 863-2877

C.C.O.D.P.
5820 Spring Garden Road
Halifax
Nova Scotia
B3H 1X8
(902) 422-8428

CUSO Halifax
1657 Barrington St. Site 508
Halifax Nova Scotia
B3J 2A1
(902) 423-6709

Halifax Coalition Against
Apartheid (HCAA)
PO Box 3460
Halifax
Nova Scotia
B3J 3J1
(902) 422-8338

International Education Centre
St. Mary's University
Halifax
Nova Scotia
B3H 3H5
(902) 429-9780

OXFAM Halifax
1649 Barrington St.
Halifax
Nova Scotia
B3H 1X8
(902) 422-8338

ONTARIO

CUSO Guelph
Counselling & Student
Resource Centre Level 3
University Centre
U. of Guelph
Guelph Ontario
N1G 2W1
(519) 824-4120 ext. 6205

Centre for International
Programs
University of Guelph
Guelph Ontario
N1G 2W1

South Africa Interest Group
c/o OPIRG, Trent Lane,
Guelph Univ.
Guelph Ontario
N1G 2W1
(519) 824-2091

C.C.O.D.P.
90 Stinson Ave
Hamilton Ontario
L8N 1S2
(416) 528-0770

CUSO Hamilton
Hamilton Hall, Rm 209
McMaster Univ
Hamilton Ontario
L8S 4K1
(416) 525 9140 ext. 2029

Society for Hamilton Area
International Response (SHAIR)
408 - 24 Hughson Str. S.
Hamilton Ontario
L8N 2A5
(416) 528-9055

Action for Africa
220 King St. East
c/o International Centre
Kingston Ontario
K7L 3A6

Campus Action Network
for Intl Dev (CANID)
c/o International Centre
Queens University
Kingston Ontario
K7L 3N6

CUSO Kingston
c/o Int'l Centre
Union St.
Queens Univ.
Kingston Ontario
K7L 3N6
(613) 545-2604

Education Commission
Alma Mater Society,
Queens University
Kingston Ontario
K7L 3N6

International Centre
Queens University
Kingston Ontario
K7L 3N6
(613) 547-2807

Kingston Anti-Apartheid Coalition
c/o Ian Hughes,
Mathematics Department
Queens University
Kingston Ontario
K7L 3N6

Queens Ad Hoc Ctte
on Divestment
c/o International Centre
Queens University
Kingston Ontario
K7L 3N6

African-Caribbean Forum
U.S.C., U.C.C. Building,
U. of Western Ontario
London Ontario
N6A 3K7

CUSO London
Talbot College, Rm. 434
U. of Western Ontario
London Ontario
N6A 3K7
(519) 661-2123

Cross Cultural Learner Centre
533 Clarence Street
London Ontario
N6A 3N1
(519) 679-6281

London Women's Anti-Apartheid
Coalition
373 Maitland Str
London Ontario
N6B 2Z1
(519) 439-0755

OXFAM London Committee
c/o Cross Cultural Learner
Centre
533 Clarence Street
London Ontario
N6A 3N1

CUSO
135 Rideau Street
Ottawa Ontario
K1N 9K7
(613) 563-1242

CUSO Carlton
Rm. 443B Loeb Building
Carlton Univ.
Ottawa Ontario
K1S 5B6
(613) 564-3865

Canadian Council for International
Co-operation (CCIC)
200 Isabella St. #300
Ottawa Ontario
K1S 1V7
(613) 236-4547

Canadian Labour Congress (CLC)
International Affairs
2841 Riverside Drive
Ottawa Ontario
K1V 8X7
(613) 521-3400

Carleton Anti-Apartheid Action
Group
c/o OPIRG, Rm 513 Unicentre
Carleton University
Ottawa Ontario
K1S 5B6
(613, 564-7112

Centre de Recherche en
Developpement International
(CRDI)
60, rue Queen
Ottawa Ontario
K1P 5Y7

Christians Against Apartheid
580 Queen Elizabeth Drive
Ottawa Ontario
K1S 3N5

C.C.O.D.P.
59 Herridge Street
Ottawa Ontario
K1H 6K9
(613) 237-5393

IDAFSA
PO Box 1034 Station B
Ottawa Ontario
K1P 5R1
(613) 233-5939

Inter Pares
58 Arthur St.
Ottawa Ontario
K1R 7B9
(613) 563-4801

MATCH
Ste. 401 - 171 Nepean St.
Ottawa Ontario
K2P 0B5
(613) 238-1312

OXFAM-Canada
251, Laurier West Room 301
Ottawa Ontario
K1P 5J6
(613) 237-5236

Ont. Public Interest Research
Group (OPIRG)
Piece 344 Centre Universitaire,
85 Hastey
Ottawa Ontario
K1N 8Z4
(613) 230-3076

Ottawa Anti-Apartheid Group
PO Box 4675 Station E
Ottawa Ontario
K1S 5H8

Ottawa-Hull Learner Centre
PO Box 2484 Station D
Ottawa Ontario
K1P 5W6
(613) 238-4659

Parliamentarians Against
Apartheid
House of Commons
Ottawa Ontario
K1A OA6

United Church South Africa Sub-
Committee
2691 Basswood Crescent
Ottawa Ontario
K1V 8K2

World University Service
of Canada
PO Box 3000 Station C
Ottawa Ontario
K1Y 4M8
(613) 725-3121

Action for Africa
565 Harvey St.
Peterborough Ontario
K9H 3O1
(705) 742-4772

C.C.O.D.P.
1163 Dollard Ave
Sudbury Ontario
P3A 4G7
(705) 566-1640

Anti-Apartheid Coalition of
Toronto
PO Box 264, 253 College St.
Toronto Ontario
M5T 1R5

Biko Rodney Malcom Coalition
PO Box 6843, Station A
Toronto Ontario
M5W 1X6
(416) 789-9477

Canadians Concerned about
Southern Africa (CCSA)
Box 6468, Station A
Toronto Ontario
M5W 2K3
(416) 651-9598

CUSO Toronto
815 Danforth Ave. Sutie 411
Toronto Ontario
M4J 1L2
(416) 461-3100

Cross Cultural Communication
Centre
965 Bloor Str. West
Toronto Ontario
M6H 1L7
(416) 653-2223

Development Education Centre
229 College St.
Toronto Ontairo
M5T 1R4
(416) 597-0328

CCODP
3028 Danforth Avenue
Toronto Ontario
M4C 1N2
(416) 698-0294

Inter-church Coalition on Africa
(ICCAF)
129 St. Clair Ave. West.
Toronto Ontario
M4V 1N5
(416)927-1124

OXFAM Ontario
175 Carlton Street
Toronto Ontario
M5A 2K3
(416) 961-3935

SACTU Solidarity Committee
PO Box 490 Station J
Toronto Ontario
M4J 4Z2
(416) 465-7386

Simon Nkodi Support Committee
c/o Body Politic
PO Box 7289 Station A
Toronto Ontario
M5W 1X9
(416) 364-6320

Taskforce on the Churches and
Corporate Responsibility
129 St. Clair Ave. West
Toronto Ontario
M4V 1N5
(416) 925-5931

Toronto Committee for the
Liberation of Southern Africa
(TCLSAC)
427 Bloor St. West
Toronto
Ontario
M5S 1X7
(416) 967-5562

United Church of Canada
85 St-Clair Av. East
Toronto Ontario
M4T 1M8
(416) 925-5931

Woza! Women
P.O.Box 672
Station "P"
Toronto Ontario
M5S 2Y4

Global Community Centre
89-91 King St. North
Waterloo Ontario
N2J 2X3
(519) 746-4090

OPIRG Waterloo
Campus Centre, Univ. of Waterloo
Waterloo Ontario
N2J 2X3

Third World Resource Centre
125 Tecumseh Rd. West
Windsor Ontario
N8Z 1E8
(519) 252-1517

P. E. ISLAND

Cooper Institute
81 Prince Street
Charlottetown
P.E.Island
C1A 4R4
(902) 894-4573

Social Action Commission
350 North River
PO Box 1689
Charlottetown
P.E. Island
C1A 7N4
(902) 892-1251

QUEBEC

Centre de Solidarite
Internationale
530, Collard ouest, suite 206.
CP 278
Alma Quebec
G8B 5V8
(418) 668-5211

Groupe Vert du College du Vieux
Montreal
154 Spring Garden
Dollard-des-Ormeaux
Quebec
H9B 2C6
(514) 684-7660

Comite Etudiant de Solidarite
Internationale
964 Judes
Greenfield Park
Quebec
J4V 3H6
(514) 656-1480

Developpement et Paix
115 Carillon/salle 15
Hull Quebec
J8X 2P8
(819) 776-2171

United Church
1560 St Joseph Blvd
Lachine Quebec
H85 2M9

Atelier Sud/Nord de l'Universite
de Montreal
4195 rue Notre Dame Apt 203
Laval Quebec
H7W 1T2
(514) 687-7840

Afro Can Communicatons
2035 Coursol St
Montreal Quebec
H35 1C3
(514) 287-9739

AMANDLA Coalition
3738 rue St Dominique
Montreal Quebec
H2X 2X9
(514) 288-3412

Association Generale
des Etudiant-e-s
de l'UQAM (AGEUQAM)
CP 8888, succ. A
Montreal Quebec
H3C 3P8
(514) 282-7042

Association Nationale
des Etudiant-e-s du Quebec
1581 rue Dufresne
Montreal Quebec
H2X 3J6
514) 526-5449

Association Quebecoise
des Organismes de Cooperation
Internationale (AQOCI)
4205, rue St-Denis
Montreal Quebec
H2J 2K9
(514) 842-1024

Centre d' Information et de
Documentation sur le
Mozambique
et l'Afrique Australe (CIDMAA)
3738 rue St. Dominique
Montreal Quebec
H2X 2X9
(514) 288-3412

CUSO
2515 Delisle suite 202
Montreal Quebec
H3J 1K8
(514) 933-1153

Carrefour International
4872 Papineau
Montreal Quebec
H2H 1V6

Confederation des Syndicats
Nationaux (CSN)
1601 Delorimier
Montreal Quebec
H2K 4M5
(514) 598-2273

Centre Interculturel Montchanin
4917 St. Urbain
Montreal Quebec
H2T 2W1

Centre for Developing Area
Studies (CDAS)
3715 Peet St.
Montreal Quebec
H3A 1X1
(514) 392-5327

Comite Afrique Residence
Leroyer
3136 Le Boulevard
Montreal Quebec
H3Y 1R9

Comite Anti Apartheid de
l'Universite de Montreal
CP 6128 Succ. A
Montreal Quebec
H3C 3J7
(514) 761-5619

Comite anti-apartheid de l'UQAM
1600 Robert Charbonneau
Apt. 504
Montreal Quebec
(514) 331-8625

Concordia Students Against
Apartheid (CSAA)
Room 203, 200 MacKay
Montreal Quebec

Centre International de
Solidarite Ouvriere (CISO)
1601, Delorimier
Montreal Quebec
H2K 4M5
(514) 598-2020

Dawson College Anti-Apartheid
Committee
485 rue McGill
Montreal Quebec
H2Y 2H4
(514) 931-8731

Developpement et Paix
2111, rue Centre
Montreal Quebec
H3K 1J5
(514) 932-5136

Developpement et Paix
1212 rue Panet (case 34)
Montreal Quebec
H2L 2Y7
(514) 527-2407

Direct Action Network Against
Military Racism
1204 St. Andre
Montreal Quebec
H2L 2S9

Emancipation 150 Committee
c/o 5920 Souart # 304
Montreal Quebec
H35 2E8

Free South Africa Committee
PO Box 675 Station NDG
Montreal Quebec
H4A 3R1

Jeunes contre l'apartheid (JECA)
6557 Bordeaux, Apt 4
Montreal Quebec
H2G 2R2
(514) 721-6462

McGill South Africa Committee
3480 McTavish
Montreal Quebec
H3A 1X9
(514) 392-8941

Mouvement Quebecois pour
Combattre le Racisme (MQCR)
1415 Jarry Est
Montreal Quebec
H2E 1A7

Mouvement des Etudiants
Africains a Montreal (MEAM)
CP 532, Succ Outremont
Montreal Quebec
H2V 4N1

OXFAM-QC
169, est rue St-Paul
Montreal Quebec
H2Y 1G8

SUCO
3738 rue St. Dominque
Montreal Quebec
H2X 2X9
(514) 288-3412

Social Justice Committee
of Montreal
2338 St. Antoine
Montreal Quebec
H3J 1A8

UGESAQ
CP 1368, Succ. Desjardins
Montreal Quebec
H5B 1H3

Bureau d'Action et d'Information
Politique
1300 8e avenue
Quebec Quebec
G1K 7H3

Carrefour Tiers-Monde
454, rue Caron
Quebec Quebec
G1K 8K8

Comite Anti Apartheid de Quebec
454 rue Caron
Quebec Quebec
G1K 8K8
(418) 522-8728

Comite Anti-apartheid de Rouyn
258-A Cardinal Begin Est
Rouyn Noranda Quebec
J9X 3H2
(819) 764-4878

Association Federative des
Etudiant-e-s
de l'Universite Sherbrooke
(AFEUS)
2500 rue Universite, local #112
Sherbrooke Quebec
J1K 2R1
(819) 821-7655

Association des Etudiant-e-s du
College de Sherbrooke (AEECS)
475 du Parc
Sherbrooke Quebec
J1E 3B1
(819) 563-9122

Association des Etudiant-e-s du
College de St Hyacinthe
300 rue Boulle
St. Hyacinthe Quebec
J2S 1H9
(514) 774-1770

Champlain College Anti-Apartheid
Committee
900 Riverside
St. Lambert Quebec
J4P 3P2
(514) 672-8541

Association des Etudiant-e-s du
College de la Region de l'Amiante
671 Thetford Mines Quebec
G6G 1N1
(418) 335-7659

Black & Third World Club of
Dawson College
350 Selby
Westmount Quebec
H33 1W7
(514) 931-8731

SASKATCHEWAN

Prince Albert Intl. Centre
PO Box 234
Prince Albert
Saskatchewan
S6C 5R5
(306) 922-9449

CUSO Regina
1602-12 Ave.
Regina
Saskatchewan
S4P OL8
(306) 525-2900

South Sask. Centre for World
Development
1602 - 12th Ave
Regina
Saskatchewan
S4P 0L6
(306) 522-6619

Saskatchewan Council for
International Cooperation
2138 McIntyre Street
Regina
Saskatchewan
S4P 2R7

Southern Africa Solidarity Ctee.
c/o Huston Hse, 2138 McIntyre
Regina
Saskatchewan
S4P 2R7
(306) 352-1651

CUSO Saskatoon
1-813 Broadway Ave
Saskatoon
Saskatchewan
S7N 1B5
(306) 933-4141

Students Against Apartheid
Rm. 65 Place Riel
Univ of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon
Saskatchewan
S7N 0W0

C.C.O.D.P.
100- 5th. Avenue
Saskatoon
Saskatchewan
S7K 2N7
(306) 652-4029

Oxfam Saskatoon
136 Ave. F South
Saskatoon
Saskatchewan
S7M 1S8
(306) 242-4076

One Sky
134 Ave. F South
Saskatoon
Saskatchewan
S7M 1S8
(306) 652-1571

Saskatoon Anti-Apartheid Ctee.
c/o 134 Ave. F South
Saskatoon
Saskatchewan
S7M 1S8
(306) 653-2032

Saskatoon Solidarity Committee
P.O. Box 7745
Saskatoon
Saskatchewan
S7K 4R5
(306) 343-0203

This is from a kit called **South Africa on the Move**, available from CUSO, ECSA desk, 135 Rideau St., Ottawa, Ont. K1N 9K7.

RESOURCE LIST

GENERAL

Print Resources

The Struggle for South Africa: A Guide to Movements, Organizations and Institutions, 2 Vols. B. Davies, D. O'Meara & S. Dlamini, *ZED Press*, London, 1984. Comprehensive reference work, historical and contemporary analysis of all the organized forces in "the struggle for South Africa", across the entire spectrum. Useful bibliographies. Was completed in 1983, some entries now a little dated. $14.95 each.

South Africa in Struggle. April, 1986. A special expanded issue of *Monthly Review* analyzes the many forces in South Africa. Articles on Capital, Trade-Unions, Women, Youth, the Region and the Crisis in South Africa plus more.

Race Relations Survey, published annually by the *South African Institute of Race Relations*, Johannesburg. Bulky and thorough annual update of developments across the entire social spectrum. Indispensible source of information and statistics.

Check with your local solidarity group, or can be ordered from The South African Institute of Race Relations, Auden House, 68 De Korte Street, Braamfontein, Johannesburg 2001, South Africa.

South African Review, edited by *South African Research Service*, Johannesburg. An excellent analytical annual review with in-depth articles on a range of issues, published periodically.

Check with your local solidarity group or can be ordered directly from SARS, P.O. Box 93174, Yeoville 2143, Johannesburg, South Africa. Rand 16.00. Latest issue is No. 3.

Work In Progress, published 5 times a year by the *South African Research Service*, Johannesburg. An important and non-sectarian journal for an overview and analysis of the struggle against apartheid. Available from SARS, P.O. Box 93174, Yeoville 2143, Johannesburg, South Africa. Individuals R 37.50, Institutions and Libraries R 45.00. Or from CIDMAA, $20.00 and $35.00.

Southern Africa Report, published 5 times a year by the *Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa* (TCLSAC), 427 Bloor Street West, Toronto, M5S 1X7. Individual $15.00, Institutions $30.00 (add $5.00 for outside Canada). A magazine for information, analysis, interviews, photographs, reviews, plus news of the solidarity network in Canada. Covers the whole of Southern Africa.

ANC News Briefing, published by the *ANC*. A weekly press-clipping service from the South African press. A Good source of daily developments in South Africa. Available from ANC, P.O. Box 302, Adelaide Postal Station, Toronto, Ontario, M5C 2J4. $35.00/year.

Sechaba, a monthly organ of the *African National Congress*. Articles and documents on South Africa and the liberation struggle, both historical and contemporary. Available from ANC, P.O. Box 302, Adelaide Postal Station, Toronto, Ontario, M5C 2J4. $23.00/year.

SAEP Newsletter, quarterly published by the *South Africa Education Project of the United Church*. Provides a synthesis of information on South Africa and Namibia, as well as possible actions and resources. Available from the United Church of Canada, 85 St. Clair Avenue East, Toronto, Ontario, M4T 1M8. Free or for a small donation.

SASPU National, published 10 times a year by the *South Africa Student's Press Union*. Outstanding newspaper, perhaps the best single news source on the resistance in South Africa. Available from Saspu Publications, Freeway House, 9 de Korte Street, Braamfontein, Johannesburg, South Africa. Individuals R 40.00, Institutions R 60.00. Money orders payable to SASPU National. Also available from CIDMAA, $25.00 individuals, $30.00 groups, $50.00 institutions.

Afrique Informations, monthly news briefings on Southern Africa. Brief and up-to-date information on South Africa, Namibia, Mozambique, Angola & Zimbabwe. (In French) Sub. $10.00 (10 issues) from CIDMAA, 3738 rue St-Dominique, Montreal, Quebec H2X 2X9. (514) 288-3412.

International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (IDAFSA), publishes and stocks a comprehensive range of books, pamphlets and fact sheets on apartheid and the resistance. Special focus on political prisoners and detainees. For a list of publications write to IDAFSA Canada, P.O. Box 1034, Station B, Ottawa K1P 5R1.

The Weekly Mail, the best (by far) of the "straight" newspapers of South Africa. Produced by ex-journalists of the now-defunct Rand Daily Mail. Very good for daily information re: political and social developments in South Africa. Sub. $95.00 U.S. for one year, 52 issues. Weekly Mail, Box 32362, Braamfontein 2017, South Africa.

OXFAM Fact Sheets on South Africa. 1986. Useful, brief, overviews with photographs, ideas for action and fundraising.

1. **Inside OXFAM-South Africa** general overview. 4 pages.

2. **From the Classrooms to the Streets: To be Young and Black in South Africa**. Analysis of the role of youth in resistance. 4 pages.

3. **Now You Have Touched the Women, You Have Struck a Rock**. Analysis of the role of women in resistance. 4 pages.

Available from OXFAM, 251 Laurier Ave. W., Ottawa, K1P 5J6.

South Africa On the Move: A Tool Kit for Education and Action, 1986. *CUSO, CIDMAA, TCLSAC, OXFAM, IDAFSA.* Original material designed for use in Canadian context, combines tools for using a popular education approach with background information and analysis. Designed for educators and activists to prepare educational work on South Africa. Specific components such as Myth Exploders and Dialogues are for direct use with Youth, Women, Labour and Churches. Illustrations and photographs. $10.00, order from CUSO, CIDMAA or TCLSAC

The New Internationalist, Race Against Time: Making the New South Africa. Special issue No. 159 May, 1986. An excellent introduction to the forces struggling against apartheid in usual popular N.I. style, full of graphics, interviews, fact sheets. Good for schools. Order from New Internationalist, 175 Carlton St., Toronto, Ontario, M5A 2K3. $2.50 (½ price for 10 or more)

South Africa: A Different Kind of War: From Soweto to Pretoria. Julie Fredrickse 1986. *Ravan Press*. Fascinating oral history of period 1976 - present. Through interviews, pamphlets, posters, state propaganda presents a unique insight into the building of resistance and the forces which try to suppress it. Themes of Resistance, Reform, Repression and War. DEC, 229 College St., Toronto, Ontario, M5R 1R4. $13.95.

Power to the People! South Africa in Struggle: A Pictoral History Peder Gowenius. *ZED Press*.

Torture is Part of the System. 1984. State violence in South Africa and Namibia. ANC $2.00.

One Azania, One Nation: The National Question in South Africa. No Sizwe. *ZED Press*. The main theoretical work trying to link the tradition of the BCM to independent socialist viewpoints by a leading theoretician of the ex Unity Movement of South Africa.

Trafficking in Apartheid: The Case for Canadian Sanctions Against South Africa. *SACTU Solidarity Committee*. 1985. An excellent source of information on Canadian companies and their trade with South Africa. $5.00.

Focus on Political Repression in Southern Africa. News bulletin of IDAF. Detailed information on political prisoners in South Africa and Namibia. Sub. $20.00 U.S. (airmail, 6 issues). IDAF, Canon Collins House, 64 Essex Rd., London, N1 8LR, England.

Ravan Press, P.O. Box 31134, Braamfontein 2017, South Africa, Tel: (11) 643-5552. Publishes a wide range of books on South Africa by South Africans. Write to them for a catalogue.

Audio-visuals

A wide range of films and videotapes are available across the country. Listed below are some of the larger holding groups. Please contact them directly for listings and rental or purchase costs.

DEC Films, 229 College St., Toronto, Ontario, M5R 1R4. (416) 597-0524.

IDERA Films, 2524 Cypress St., Vancouver, B.C. V6J 3N2. (604) 738-8815.

United Church, A-V Library, 85 St. Clair Ave. W., Toronto, Ontario, M4T 1M8. (416) 925-5931.

IDAFSA Canada, P.O. Box 1034, Station "B", Ottawa, Ontario, K1P 5R1. (613) 233-5939.

Mennonite Central Committee, A-V Library, 201-1403 Pembina Hwy., Winnipeg, Manitoba, R3T 2C8 (204) 475-3550.

ANC Mission in Canada, P.O. Box 302, Adelaide Postal Stn., Toronto, Ontario, M5C 2J4, (416) 461-4255.

OXFAM DEVERIC, 1699 Barrington St., Halifax, Nova Scotia, B3J 1Z9. (902) 422-8338, (902) 429-1370.

OXFAM Centre, 382 Duckworth St., St. Johns, Newfoundland, A1C 1H8. (709) 735-2202.

CIDMAA, 3738 rue St. Dominique, Montreal, Quebec, H2X 2X9. (514) 288-3412.

Southern Africa Advocacy Program, Lutheran World Ministries, 360 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10010, U.S.A. (212) 532-6350. They have an excellent "Media List", a unique data resource for locating films on South Africa and Namibia available in Canada and the U.S.. The cover brochure identifies nearly 50 film and videotape titles, and they will enclose a computer printout listing addresses and phone numbers for your region. Canada is region no. 10.

Audio-Visuals — General

Generations of Resistance, Producer: Peter Davis, U.S.A., 1980, 52 mins, 16 mm, colour. An excellent film tracing the history of the struggle against imperialism and racism. Though obviously does not deal with the current phase of the struggle. (IDERA, United Church, Metro Toronto Library and others).

Apartheid: South Africa Today, produced by a South African exile, Canada 1979, slide tape show, 34 mins. colour. An excellent production about apartheid for those unfamiliar with apartheid and South Africa. A bit dated now. (DEC, IDERA).

Abaphuciwe The Dispossessed, producers: Gavin and Amanda Young, South Africa U.K. 1980. 45 mins. 16 mm, colour. Provides an overview of apartheid laws designed to maintain control in the hands of whites. Good coverage of popular community actions in South Africa. (DEC, IDERA).

The Anvil and the Hammer. 35 min. video, colour, 1985 produced by IDAFSA, England. Covers political developments of recent years in South Africa with focus on the constitution, and campaigns of the United Democratic Front (UDF) also on ANC's military and political actions. (ANC, IDAFSA, CIDMAA, OXFAM).

The Freedom Charter, Videotape on the ANC Program. 13 min. colour, Terra Vision, produced by CUSO. Short introduction to South Africa and why the black majority has rallied around the Freedom Charter, the political program of the ANC. (CUSO-Ottawa, ANC).

Portrait of Nelson Mandela, producer Stichting Derde Cinema, South Africa Netherlands, 1980. 20 mins, 16 mm, colour. A documentary portrayal of ANC leader Nelson Mandela. Some background to the ANC and development of armed struggle. Interviews with his family members and friends. (DEC, IDERA).

South Africa: The White Laager, Producers: Peter Davis and the United Nations, U.S.A. South Africa, 1977. 58 mins, 16 mm, colour. An interesting film about the Afrikaaners — their history, nationalism, ideology and formation into a white supremacist power. (IDERA, DEC, Metro Toronto Library, Churches).

Song of the Spear, directed by Barry Feinberg, produced by IDAF and ANC, 1986, 57 mins., 16 mm, and video, colour. Documents the role of culture in the liberation movement. Building of peoples culture exemplified by "Amandla", the ANC cultural group, songs of protest and resistance at political rallies, interviews with cultural workers. (IDAFSA, ANC).

Bound to Strike Back, Capricorn Video, Zimbabwe 1986. 90 min. video. Very recent and comprehensive look at roots of resistance, building of popular organizations in South Africa up to May Day celebrations 1986. (CUSO).

Grandfather, Your Right Foot is Missing, Yunus Ahmed 1984, 45 min. video. Describes life in District Six in Cape Town prior to the demolition. Use of innovative filming techniques captures texture of vibrant community and its destruction. Winner of most outstanding film 1984 London Film Festival (DEC).

Taking Sides: Images of Resistance from South Africa, Afrapix and OXFAM, 1986. Exhibition of black and white photographs and tape either in poster form or framed fine prints for galleries. Powerful images of South Africans which reveal texture of struggle usually obscured by media (OXFAM, 251 Laurier Ave. W., Ottawa, Ontario, K1P 5J6).

Too Many People are Suffering, Silk Screen Training Project (S.A.) and CUSO, 1986. Posters produced by and for popular organizations in South Africa. Used as education and mobilizing tools, show richness of grassroots organizing. (CUSO).

Woza! Albert, 50 min. colour, 16 mm, 1982. Producer David Thompson. This is a BBC film of an international hit play written and performed by two black South Africans. An ironic revue which is organized around the premise that Jesus Christ returns to the self-proclaimed "Christian" nation of South Africa. Available from: California News Reel, 630 Natome, San Francisco, California 94103. U.S.A. (415) 621-6196.

The Sun Will Rise, 35 min., 16 mm., colour, 1984. Produced by the ANC. Shot inside South Africa, interviews with parents of youth who have left South Africa to join Umkhonto We Sizwe, the People's Army and the mounting resistance inside against apartheid. (ANC).

The Struggle from Within, 43 min. 16 mm, colour 1985. Kevin Harris Productions, South Africa. Profiles of campaigns by the UDF, South African Council of Churches and popular organizations. (ANC).

WOMEN

Print Resources

South African Women on the Move, by the Vukani Makhosikazi Collective of Johannesburg. *Between the Lines*, 1986. $12.95. An excellent book, with first person accounts documenting the experiences of women living under apartheid in cities, bantustans, factories, farms. Plus information on women's groups and struggles. (DEC).

Working Women — A Portrait of South Africa's Black Women Workers, editor Helene Perold. Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1985. R. 12.00. Photographs and essays of the lives of working women in South Africa.

Call me Woman, Ellen Khuzwayo, *The Women's Press*, London, 1985. An autobiography of one woman but communicates well the lives, struggles and experiences of many South Africans. (DEC).

Women and Resistance in South Africa, Cheryl Walker, *Onyx Press*, 1982. Detailed account of women's involvement in political struggle 1910-1960's, formation and growth of the federation of South African women.

For Their Triumphs and Their Tears: Women in Apartheid South Africa, Hilda Bernstein, IDAFSA, London reprint, 1985. An excellent overview of women's lives and organizations in South Africa.

Umama — a newsletter linking women in Southern Africa with women in Quebec. Published 6 times a year in French by the *Umama Collective*. $5.00/year. Contact: Umama c/o CIDMAA, 3738 Rue St. Dominique, Montreal, Quebec, H2X 2X9. (514) 288-3412.

Part of my Soul, Winnie Mandela. Edited by Anne Benjamin, adapted by Mary Benson, *Penguin Books*, U.K., 1985. A moving account of one of the more famous women of South Africa. Her struggle just to stay alive and survive against intense state repression.

Maids and Madams: A study in the Politics of Exploitation by Jacklyn Cock, *Ravan Press*, Johannesburg, 1980.

Audio-visuals

Women of South Africa: Day by Day. Slide/tape, 30 min. colour. Produced by *WOZA! Women*, Toronto, 1986: An excellent production for an overview of women's lives plus the role of women in the struggle for a new South Africa. Women organizing in townships, civics, unions and women's groups. (TCLSAC)

Mandela — producer Peter Davis, 58 min, 16 mm, colour, 1986. Interview with Winnie Mandela, her brief life with her husband Nelson Mandela and mostly her struggle to resist and survive the last 25 years. (IDERA).

Maids and Madams, produced by Jacklyn Cock and Mira Hamermesh. Videos VHS and ¾ inch. Colour, 52 mins, 1985. A new production addressing the work of women as domestics and their madams. (DEC).

You Have Struck a Rock, 28 min, 16 mm, colour. Produced by Deborah May, South Africa/U.S.A., 1981. Moving account of earlier women's struggles against pass laws. (DEC, IDERA).

South Africa Belongs to Us, producers Chris Austin, Peter Chappell, Ruth Weiss. West Germany, 1980. Colour, 16 mm, 35 min. Useful depiction of the lives of women under the migrant labour system through interviews with 5 long time activists. A little short on contemporary struggles. (IDERA)

Crossroads/South Africa, producer Jonathan Wacks, U.S.A. 1980. 50 min, 16 mm, colour. A powerful look at the illegal squatters' settlement built by the wives, migrant workers and the strong community organization by women which eventually forced the apartheid state to back down. (IDERA).

Tsiamelo: A Place of Goodness, Directors: Betty Wolpert with Ellen Kuzwayo and Blanche Tsimatsima. Great Britain 1983. 56 min. Contemporary Films Ltd. The film portrays the experiences endured by one family and their friends over a period spanning four generations in South Africa, through interviews with 84-year-old Blanche Tsimatsima and her 70-year-old niece, a community leader in Soweto. We learn about the struggles of black people in South Africa.

Forget Not Our Sisters — Women Under Apartheid, 30 min, slide/tape, colour, 1982. Produced by Barbara Brown with the Boston Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa. Available from the *United Church of Canada* as a 35 mm film strip with guide, cassette and script. Presents a good historical account of the organizing of black women in South Africa and the impact of apartheid on them. Plus the Canadian corporate connection to apartheid.

LABOUR

Print Resources

South African Labour Bulletin. Johannesburg, 10 issues a year. This is an outstanding source on the democratic trade-unions. It covers history, ongoing strikes and disputes, tactical and strategic issues, the strategy of employers and the state, and debates within and between unions. Order from SALB, P.O. Box 31073, Braamfontein 2017, South Africa.

Labour's World. A monthly publication of the *Canadian Labour Congress*. On labour and union developments in South Africa. Available in English and French. Contact: CLC, 28241 Riverside Dr., Ottawa, Ontario K1V 8X7. (613) 521-3400.

SACTU Solidarity. Newsletter of the *SACTU Solidarity Committee*, Toronto. News on Labour in South Africa, plus Canadian labour action in solidarity. Contact: SSC, P.O. Box 490, Postal Stn. "J", Toronto, Ontario, M4J 4Z2. (416) 465-7386.

Organize or Starve: The history of SACTU. K. Luckhardt and B. Wall. *Lawrence & Wishart*, London 1980. An extensive historical account of the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

Trafficking in Apartheid: the case for Canadian Sanctions Against South Africa. By the *SACTU Solidarity Committee*, Toronto, 1985. An excellent source of information on Canadian companies and their trade with South Africa. $5.00.

COSATU Workers News. Newspaper of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the largest labour federation in the country. For sub. costs, etc. write to COSATU, P.O. Box 18109, Dalbridge 4014, South Africa.

Audio-visuals

Adapt or Die, produced by ABC, 1983, 48 mins, 16 mm, colour. A good description of the development of the trade-union movement. Includes impressive interviews and reports on organizing efforts in the mines, docks and motor industry. (SSC, CIDMAA).

Passing the Message, produced by Stichting Derde Cinema and VARA-TV, South Africa/Holland, 1982. 47 min, colour, 16 mm, and ¾inch video. The film presents many of the apartheid laws affecting black workers and follows 3 black unionists in their organizing efforts. (DEC).

Workers and Trade-Unions in South Africa. Produced by United Steelworkers of America/OXFAM Canada. 1983. Video, 18 mins, colour. Demonstrates the conditions for black workers in South Africa and the emerging trade union movement. (CLC)

Interview with Cyril Ramaphosa, General Secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers of South Africa. Produced by the CLC, Canada. 1984. Video, 18 mins. colour. Information on the dramatic story of the fastest growing union in South Africa. (CLC)

The Workers are Coming. 15 min. video. Formation of COSATU, November 1985. (ANC, SSC, IDAFSA)

An Injury to One is an Injury to All. 1982. SACTU Solidarity Committee slide/tape. History of struggle for non-racial trade unions. Section on Canadian complicity with apartheid. (SSC).

CHURCHES

Print Resources

Challenge to the Church: The Kairos Document. A theological statement on South Africa. Available from: The Kairos Theologians, P.O. Box 32047, Braamfontein 2017, South Africa, and the United Church.

Apartheid is a Heresy. Edited by John W. deGrunchy and Charles Villa-Vincencio, 1983. Includes articles from Bishop Tutu, Allan Boesak and others. Available from the United Church $7.50.

South Africa in the 1980's. Published by the Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1980, revised 1983. $2.00 from United Church.

Relocations: The Churches' Report on Forced Removals in South Africa. Published by The South African Council of Churches and The Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference, 1984, $3.00. Available from United Church and CCODP.

Apartheid, Change and the NG Kerk: JHP Serfontein. Detailed and up-to-date account by a journalist of the attitude of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa to the apartheid policy and changes in it. 1982. $15.00 Available from United Church.

SAEP Newsletter. Quarterly of the United Church. See listing under general resources.

Taskforce on Churches and Corporate Responsibility. 129 St. Clair Ave. W., Toronto, Ontario, M4V 1N5. (416) 923-1758. TCCR does extensive research and lobbying on Canadian corporations, banks and government. Have information on the above, plus the annual reports are also valuable.

Black and Reformed. Apartheid, Liberation and the Calvinist Tradition. Allan Boesak,, 1984, *Orbis Books*, U.S.A. Collection of articles addressing theology and the struggle for liberation. $13.25 from the United Church.

Audio-visuals

The Heresy of Apartheid. Videotape, 30 min, May 1983, United Church, Toronto. Interview with Dr. Allan Boesak, President of The World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and Jim Kirkwood of the Division of World Outreach of the United Church.

Allan Boesak: Choosing for Justice. 16 mm, ¾inch video, 28 mins, colour, 1984. A poignant and illuminating film, bringing to life the conflicts, ironies and cruelties that make South Africa. Not only a profile of one man, but of the spirit of Black South Africans. (United Church, DEC, OXFAM-St. Johns).

This we can do for Justice and Peace. 16 mm, 45 mins, colour with study-guide. 1982. S.A. Council of Churches. Portrays all aspects of work and witness of the South African Council of Churches. Includes personal interviews, excerpts of speeches, church and family life of Bishop Desmond Tutu. Excellent for church audiences and for those who know little about South Africa. (United Church).

Desmond Tutu: Power or Prize, colour 27 min. video. CBC 1985. In this *Man Alive* program, Roy Bonisteel conducts a delightful interview with Bishop Desmond Tutu about his receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize, and the impact of this award on blacks in South Africa. (United Church).

No Place to Hide Down Here. 30 min, colour video, Berkeley Studio. 1985. Rev. Rod Booth interviews Rev. Beyers Naude, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches about the Kairos document which was presented to the United Nations. He says "that the moment of truth has come in South Africa, there is no possibility of peaceful change; violence is inherent in the system".

YOUTH, STUDENTS AND EDUCATION

Print Resources

Apartheid and Education: The Education of Black South Africans. Peter Kallaway (ed.) *Ravan Press*, Johannesburg, 1984. Most comprehensive historical and contemporary overview, with an extensive bibliography.

Forbidden Pastures: Education under Apartheid, Freda Troup, *IDAFSA*, London, 1976. Short, readable, useful overview of Bantu Education, now a bit dated.

The Right to Learn: The Struggle for Education in South Africa. Prepared by Pam Christie, *Sached/Ravan Press Publication*. 1985. An excellent book, written in a popular style, raising the critical issue of education in South Africa. Both historical and contemporary, education and resistance and planning for a new South Africa.

SASPU National — See under general listing.

Child Labour in South Africa, *Anti-Slavery Society*, Report No. 7, London, 1983.

Race Relations Survey — See under general listing.

Audio-visuals

Six Days in Soweto, produced by Anthony Thomas, 16 mm, colour, 55 mins. A report on the 1976 student uprising in Soweto against the Bantu Education System. Interviews with students and their families. (Churches, Metro Toronto Library).

CANADIAN CONNECTION

Print Resources

South Africa and the Myth of Corporate Engagement: the Case of the Bata Shoe Co. Aug. 1985. *CCSA* Toronto, $2.00. Contact CCSA at P.O. Box 6468, Station "A", Toronto, Ontario M5W 2K3.

CCSA Newsletter, monthly, information on campaigns, boycotts and news. $10.00 (institutions) $5.00 (individuals). (CCSA)

"Keeping up with the Joneses: Canada and South Africa 1985" in, **Southern Africa Report** *October 1985, written by Linda Freeman.* Useful overview demystification of official rhetoric and glimpse at the interests underlying the Canadian connections with apartheid. *From* TCLSAC, 427 Bloor ST. W., Toronto, Ontario M5R 1X7.

Canadian Industry in South Africa: Misconduct or Code of Conduct, *IDAFSA Briefing Paper, June 1985.* Review of the Canadian Code and focus on four of the biggest Canadian investors. *From* IDAFSA, P.O. Box 1034, Station "B", Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5R1. Phone (613) 233-5939.

Investment in Oppression: Canadian Responses to Apartheid, *Taskforce on the Churches and Corporate Responsibility, Toronto, 1979.* Useful, but now a bit dated. The Taskforce updates information on the Canadian connection with apartheid each year in the Southern Africa section of its **Annaul Report.** *From* Taskforce on Churches and Corporate Responsibility, 600 Jarvis St., Toronto, Ontario M4Y 2J6.

Code of Conduct: Canadian Companies in South Africa. *Department of External Affairs, 1986.* The official report on the administration and observation of the Canadian Code of Conduct. *From* Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.

Sanctions as an Effective Instrument for Change in South Africa. An analysis of the economic and political effects of sanctions. *From* CIDMAA, 3738 rue St. Dominique, Montreal H2X 2X9 (514) 288-3412.

What's the Word Bulletin. *CIDMAA* and *TCLSAC*. Monthly listing of events, strategies, resources etc. for the solidarity network across Canada. Also in French.

Others (repeated for quick reference — See under general listing)

Trafficking in Apartheid
Southern Africa Report
SACTU Solidarity Committee Newsletter
TCCR annual reports
Afrique informations

SOUTHERN AFRICA
General

Facts and Reports. Monthly news clippings on Southern Africa by the Holland Committee on Southern Africa. Sub. $40.00 U.S. (individuals), $50,00 U.S. (institutions). H.C.S.A. Oudezijds Achterburgwel 173, 1012 DJ Amsterdam.

Africa News. Biweekly news bulletin with lots of information on Southern Africa. Sub. $30.00 U.S. (individuals), $48.00 U.S. (institutions). 26 issues. Africa News, P.O. Box 3851, Durham. N.C. U.S.A. 27702.

Southern Africa Report. 5 times a year by TCLSAC. Information and analysis on region. Sub. $15.00 (individuals), $30.00 (institutions), add $5.00 outside Canada. TCLSAC, 427 Bloor St. West, Toronto, Ont, M5S 1X7

Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). Resource dossier on SADCC, the economic coordinating conference linking up the nine countries of Southern Africa. Prospects to "de link" those countries from South Africa and rebuild the region. Also suggests direction for cooperation by NGO's and governments. $5.00. CIDMAA, 3738 rue st. Dominique, Montreal, Que., H2X 2X9.

ANGOLA
Print Resources

Angola News Bulletin. Monthly bulletin by the official news agency of Angola. Political, diplomatic and military developments as seen by the MPLA government. ANGOP, 16 Maddox St., London, W1, England.

Angola in the Front Line. Michael Wolfen and Jane Bergerol. ZED Press 1983. Two British journalists recall the post independence developments in Angola from a pro-Angolan stance. (DEC).

Angolan Women Building the Future: From National Liberation to Women's Emancipation. Compiled by the Organization of Angolan Women. ZED Press. Documents and Debates from OAW. $13.95. (DEC).

MOZAMBIQUE
Print Resources

Tempo. Weekly political magazine from Mozambique in Portuguese. Official organ of Frelimo government. Tempo, ave Ahmed Sekon Touve 1078, CP 2917, Maputo, Mozambique.

AIM Information Bulletin. Monthly official news agency of Mozambique. English and French. Carries lots of information in the military situation and international relationship of Mozambique. Sub. $15.00 U.S. (individuals), $25.00 U.S. (institutions). AIM. C.P. 896 Maputo, Mozambique.

Mozambique: The Revolution Under Fire. Joseph Haulon. ZED Press 1984. Critical assessment of Mozambique 10 years after independence. Social and political developments leading up to the Nkomati Accord.

A Difficult Road: the Transition to Socialism in Mozambique. John Saul (Ed.). Monthly Review Press 1985. Analytical overview of Mozambique's achievements in education, agriculture, industry, urbanization, health and women.

Samora Machel, An African Revolutionary. Barry Munslow (ed.). ZED Press. The first selection in English of some of Machel's speeches and writings since independence in 1975.

Mozambique: Towards a People's Health Service. Eds. G. Walt and A. Melamed, ZED Press. An account of the new socialist health service and its problems.

Audio Visuals

And What About the Women? Slide tape, 25 mins, 1984. By SUCO/CUSO. Cooperants working in Mozambique about their their experiences and raising issues of women in the development process. (TCLSAC).

Block by Block: Building a New Life in Mozambique. Slide tape, 16 mins, produced by TCLSAC. A Maputo neighbourhood taking control of their community and improving their living conditions left by 100 years of colonial neglect. Good for understanding problems of underdevelopment and human settlements. (TCLSAC)

ZIMBABWE
Print Resources

MOTO. Very good independent political magazine produced in Zimbabwe. Information on political situation, also grass roots organizations in Zimbabwe and elsewhere in Southern Africa. Sub. $65.00 U.S. airmail 12 issues. MOTO, Mambo Press, P.O. Box 779, Gweru, Zimbabwe.

The Struggle for Zimbabwe. David Martin and Phyllis Johnston. Zimbabwe Publishing House 1981. The history of the liberation war. $11.95. (DEC).

Zimbabwe: A Revolution That Lost its Way? Andre Astrow. ZED Press 1983. A critical analysis, his viewpoint, documented by partial data on the economic and political situation since independence, is that "capitalism is stabilized under the Mugabe government."

Zimbabwe Publishing House publishes Zimbabwean and many other African writers, Novels, poetry, childrens books, theoretical writing etc., write for catalogue. P.O. Box BW 350, Harare, Zimbabwe.

Audio Visuals

Zimbabwe: Freedom is More than Liberation. 50 min, colour, 16 mm, video 1981. Produced by Stichting Derde Cinema Frank Diamond. Focuses on the problems the Mugabe government faces in the process of changing a country with a grossly unequal distribution of land and wealth, into a more just and egalitarian society. Also examples of individual and agricultural initiatives towards self-sufficiency. (DEC).

Zimbabwe: the new struggle. Ron Hallis 58 min, video, 1985. Images of the new Zimbabwe from a pro-government viewpoint. (IDERA).

NAMIBIA
Print Resources

SWAPO Information Bulletin. Published by Department of Information, SWAPO, P.O. Box 953, Luanda, Angola.

Namibia Bulletin. Bulletin by UN Council for Namibia. Mostly covers activities of UN regarding Namibia.

Action on Namibia. Irregular publication of the British Namibia Support Committee. Information on Namibia and SWAPO. N.S.C., 53 Leverton St., London SW5.

Namibia Kit. Namibia Working Group of the Inter-Church Coalition on Africa. 1984. Good introduction to history and current events. Topics covered include SWAPO, Labour, Women, Churches, etc. $7.00. Africa Office, Division of World Outreach, United Church of Canada. 85 St. Clair E, Toronto, M4T 1M8.

Namibia Kit. Washington Office on Africa. 1986. Very recent, good presentation. Washington Office on Africa, 110 Maryland Ave. N.E. Wash D C. 20002.

Towards Namibian Independence. CIDMAA. Detailed analysis of future prospects of Namibia. Analysis of Namibian resources in agriculture, mining, fisheries, educational and health services etc. and suggestions for NGO's work in Namibia. $5.00. (CIDMAA).

Focus on Political Repression in Southern Africa. News bulletin of IDAF. Detailed information on political prisoners in South Africa and Namibia. Sub: $20.00 U.S. airmail 6 issues. IDAF, Canon Collins House, 64 Essex Rd., London, N1 8LR England.

To Be Born A Nation — The Liberation Struggle for Namibia. By the Department of Information and Publicity of SWAPO of Namibia. 1981. ZED Press, England.

The Namibian. A weekly newspaper, on current developments in Namibia, published from Windhoek. Has a pro-SWAPO position. Excellent source for news from within. Subs: Airmail Rand 156.00 for 1 year, 52 issues. The Namibian, P.O. Box 20783, Windhoek 9000, Namibia.

Audio Visuals

One Namibia, One Nation. Produced by TCLSAC. Revised edition 1986. 18 min. Slide/tape. Historical overview of Namibia and on the current situation plus the Canadian corporate links. (TCLSAC).

Cry for Freedom. 20 min, colour, 16 mm film, 1981. Good for people new to the issue, especially church audiences. Interviews with church leaders and Christians inside Namibia. (United Church).

Africa's Last Colony. 36 min, slide-tape. Shows the development of the colonization of Namibia which began with the Germans in 1884. The continual conflict between indigenous peoples and the colonizers, till the colonial power of today — South Africa. (United Church).

SWAPO. 50 min, 16 mm, colour, 1976. The film records the history and struggles of the Namibian people, South Africa's illegal occupation, the involvement of western corporations in the exploitation of natural resources. Plus SWAPO's political and military programs. (IDERA).

Distributors for Audio-visuals on Southern Africa.

A wide range of films and videotapes are available across the country. Listed below are some of the larger holding groups. Please contact them directly for listings and rental or purchase costs.

DEC Films, 229 College St. Toronto M5R 1R4, (416) 597-0524.

IDERA Films, 2524 Cypress St. Vancouver B.C. V6J 3N2, (604) 738-8815.

United Church, A-V Library, 85 St. Clair Ave. East, Toronto, M4T 1M8, (416) 925-5931.

IDAFSA Canada, P.O. Box 1034, Station "B", Ottawa, K1P 5R1, (613) 233-5939.

Mennonite Central Committee, A-V Library, 201-1483 Pembina Hwy, Winnipeg, R3T 2C8, (204) 475-3550.

ANC Mission in Canada, P.O. Box 302, Adelaide Postal Stn, Toronto, M5C 2J4, (416) 461-4255.

OXFAM DEVERIOC, 1699 Barrington St., Halifax, Nova Scotia, H3J 1Z9, (902) 422-8338, (902) 429-1370.

OXFAM Centre, 382 Duckworst St., St. Johns, Newfoundland, A1C 1H8, (709) 735-2202.

CIDMAA, 3738 rue St. Dominique, Montreal, H2X 2X9, (514) 288-3412.

Southern Africa Advocacy Program, Lutheran World Ministries, 360 Park Ave. South, New York, N.Y. 10010, (212) 532-6350. (They have an excellent "Media List", a unique data resource for locating films on South Africa and Namibia available in Canada and the U.S. The cover brochure identifies nearly 50 films and videotape titles, and they will enclose a computer printout listing addresses and phone numbers for your region. Canada is region No. 10.)

RESOURCES

Trafficing in Apartheid: The Case For Canadian Sanctions Against South Africa, *SACTU Solidarity Committee, Toronto, 1984.* The outstanding source. A comprehensive and detailed overview with a breakdown by province of Canadian involvement with South Africa. *From* SACTU Solidarity Committee, Box 490 Station J, Toronto, Ontario M4J 4Z2.

Bookstores which carry books on Southern Africa

ALBERTA

Charing Cross Books
8920 - 112th St., Edmonton, T6G 2C5.

Common Woman Books
8208 - 104 St., Edmonton, T6E 4E6.

City Limits Bookstore
503 - 22nd Ave. S.W., Calgary, T2S 0H5.

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Ariel Books
2766 W. 4th Ave., Vancouver, V6K 1R1.

Spartacus Books
311 West Hastings, Vancouver, V6B 1H6.

Vancouver Women's Bookstore
322 West Hastings, Vancouver, V6B 1K6.

Everywoman's Books
641 Johnson St., Victoria, V8W 1M7.

People's Co-op Bookstore
353 West Pender St., Vancouver, V6B 1T3.

MANITOBA

Co-operative Bookstore
384 Donald St., Winnipeg, R3B 2J2

Liberation Books
160 Spence St., Winnipeg, R3C 1Y3

NOVA SCOTIA

Red Herring Co-op Bookstore
16542 Barrington St., 2nd Floor, Halifax, B3J 2A2.

ONTARIO

Octopus Books
732 Bank St., Ottawa, K1S 3V4.

Ottawa Women's Bookstore
380 Elgin St., Ottawa, K2P 1N1.

Northern Women's Bookstore
316 Bay St., Thunder Bay, P7B 1S1

DEC Books
229 College St., Toronto, M5T 1R4.

Third World Books
942 Bathurst St., Toronto, M5R 3G5.

Toronto Women's Bookstore
73 Harbord St., Toronto, M5S 1G4.

Anglican Book Centre
600 Jarvis St., Toronto, M4Y 2Y6.

SCM Book Room
333 Bloor St. W., Toronto, M5S 1W7.

Bob Miller Book Room
180 Bloor St. W., Toronto, M5S 2V6.

QUEBEC

Liberation Books
2015 rue Drummond, Montreal, H3G 1W7.

Paragraph Book Store
2065 rue Mansfield, Montreal, H3A 1Y7.

Diocesan Book Room
4 Place Ville Marie, Montreal, H3B 2E7.

Alternative Bookshop
2033 Blvd. St. Laurent, Montreal, H2X 2T3.

CIDMAA
3738 rue St. Dominique, Montreal, H2X 2X9

SASKATCHEWAN

Tumbleweed Books
No. 1, 2210 Albert St., Regina, S4T 1R3.

One Sky
134 Ave., F.S. Saskatoon, S7M 1S8.

This is from a kit called **South Africa on the Move,** available from CUSO, ECSA desk, 135 Rideau St., Ottawa, Ont. K1N 9K7.

GLOSSARY

of terms and acronyms used in this kit

apartheid terms

APARTHEID	Literally, 'separateness'. It refers to the organization of South African society which is based on racial segregation, excluding the majority from participation in the central government on the basis of colour.
AFRICAN	The majority of the black population, denied participation in the central government and assigned to the bantustan system.
COLOURED	Used by the government for those of mixed race, descendents of Malay slaves from the Khoi and the San peoples, original inhabitants of the Cape.
INDIAN	The great majority of those officially termed 'Asians' -- who belong to communities originating in India, China and other Asian countries.
AFRIKANER	The Afrikaans-speaking section of the white population of South Africa. Afrikaners (Boers) are descendents of the Dutch colonizers.
BANTUSTANS OR HOMELANDS	The poverty stricken and fragmented parcels of land allocated to the African population (representing only 13% of the total land for 75% of the population). Bantustans are officially called 'homelands' to imply the people originated there.
GROUP AREAS	Segregated zones in towns and cities set aside for residence, commercial activites and industry for members of White, Coloured and Asian groups.
REMOVALS AND RESETTLEMENTS	When the area in which one population group is living is declared a 'group area' for another, the inhabitants are 'removed' — and in the case of Africans, this means being dumped — or 'resettled' in a bantustan.
RESETTLEMENT CAMP	When the Africans are dumped in a bantustan they are placed in 'resettlement camps', which have minimum facilities, sometimes not sufficient to sustain the population.
INFLUX CONTROL	The system which prevents Africans living in the bantustans from moving to and working in the urban areas except under very restrictive conditions.

other terms used in the kit

BLACK	We use 'black' in the wider sense to include the three population groups divided under apartheid: African, Coloured and Indian. The South African government and most of the press used the term 'black' to refer only to Africans.
NON-RACIAL SOCIETY	We used this term as it is used by South Africans fighting against apartheid. It refers to a future society (as outlined in the Freedom Charter) — not based on racial lines or distinctions.
FRONT LINE STATES	Co-ordinated action to defend against aggression by South Africa and to support the ANC links the following 'front line states' — Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

acronyms

(NOTE: Others are defined as they appear.)

ANC	The African National Congress founded in 1912 and banned in 1960. It leads the overall struggle against apartheid.
UDF	The United Democratic Front, formed in 1983, has over 600 organizations affiliated to it.
SACTU	The South African Congress of Trade Unions (forced underground in the early 1960's), was South Africa's first non-racial trade union federation.
COSATU	The Congress of South African Trade Unions was formed in 1985 and has over 500,000 paid up members.
BCM	The Black Consciousness Movement grew out of the organizations of black students at the end of the 1960's and played an important role in the opposition to apartheid until banned in 1977.
COSAS	The Congress of South African Students representing high school students was founded in 1979 and banned in 1985.
SADCC	The function of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference is to coordinate efforts for economic development to reduce dependence on South Africa.

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